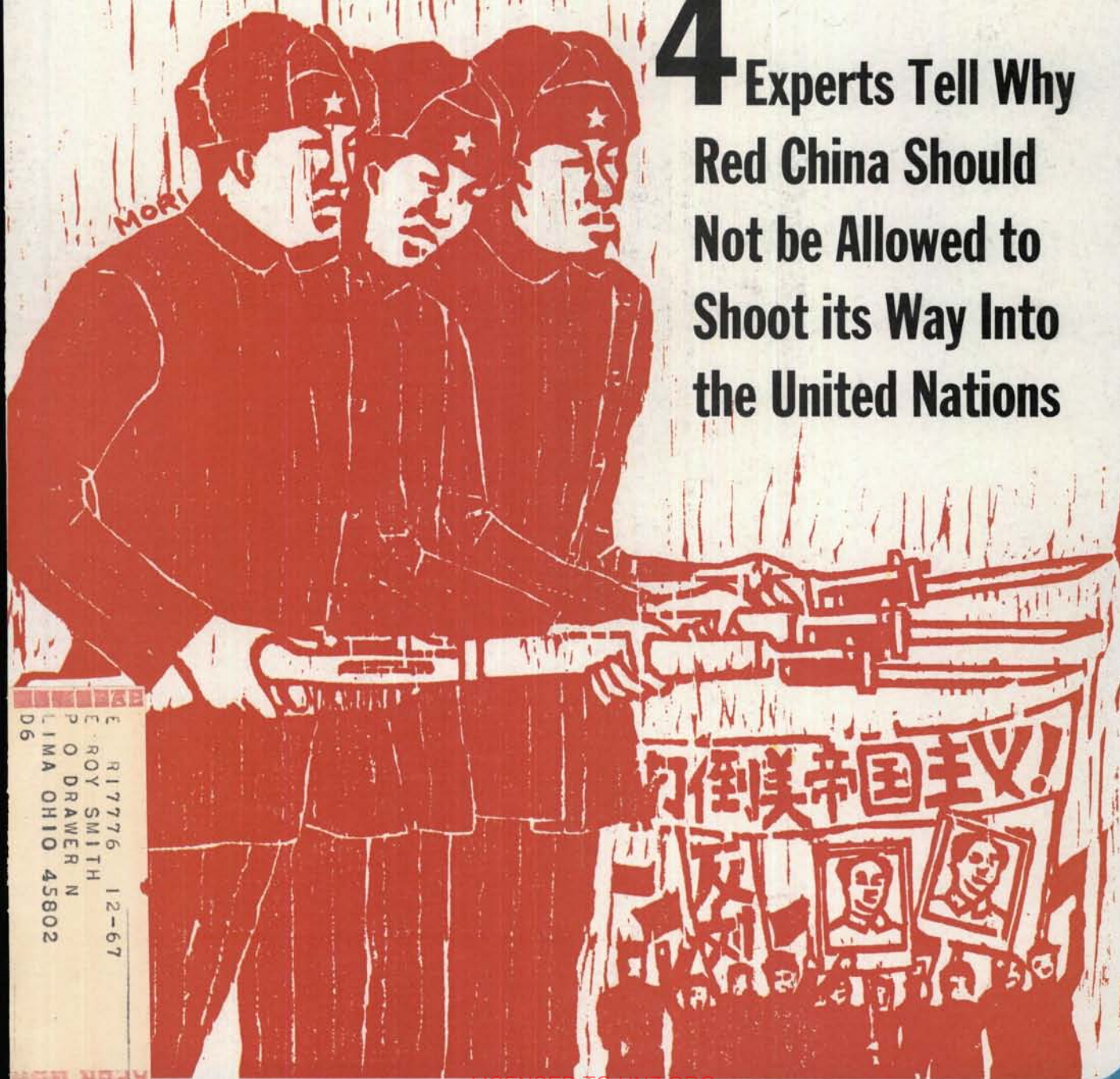


— SEE PAGE 532:
by the Newspaper Strike!

NATIONAL REVIEW

4 Experts Tell Why
Red China Should
Not be Allowed to
Shoot its Way Into
the United Nations



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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

→ The four experts least likely to have had their opinions on Red China puffed by the fearless and impartial press that covers public-spirited congressional hearings interested only in getting at the facts, are herewith presented in the testimony they in fact were invited to give, and did give, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Fulbright (formerly the Senate) Foreign Relations Committee—but not so's you'd notice. In a special sixteen-page supplement, **David Nelson Rowe, Walter H. Judd, Franz Michael and George E. Taylor** give cogent and multitudinous reasons why our official position against recognizing Red China, trading with it, or admitting it to the UN, is correct and should be unalterable. (Further copies may be ordered from the Committee of One Million, Room 709, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019—price, 25 cents.) **Theodore Lit**, senior editor at Arlington House, the publishing arm of the Conservative Book Club, introduces the four unfashionables, having assembled their views, on p. 514.

→ **Theodore E. Schulz**, who relates how a perfectly sound but obstreperous citizen can, via the courts, wind up in a state mental institution, is an ordained minister and has held pastorates in California, Indiana and Hawaii. . . . Under the fog of ballyhoo for the Student Left, the Student Right just keeps rolling along, according to **John F. Lulves Jr.**, who, as Midwestern regional director of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, reports unprecedented growth for this academic year. . . . **George Merlis**, a former assistant city editor of the *New York World-Telegram & Sun* and a ranking member of the New York Newspaper Guild, writes about New York's news brownout from the inside.

→ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** boggles at some of the legal idiocies now being proposed in the name of civil rights. A new book, *The Unmaking of the Mayor 1965*, written this past winter, has been delivered to his publishers (Viking Press) and will appear this autumn. . . . **James Burnham**, lately returned to these shores, finds them considerably eroded, especially along the Potomac. . . . Seconding Mr. Lulves of the ISI (see above), **Russell Kirk** records the progress of a student victory movement out in California. . . . Delectations abound in pâtés, as served by gourmet chef **Nika Standen Hazelton**—and you, if you follow the recipes.

→ This being an issue for banished viewpoints and unsung causes, we lead off the book section, fittingly enough, with a review, by the unfazed **M. Stanton Evans**, of one of the most widely unreviewed books of the season—Jeffrey Hart's *An American Dissent*. Much of it is about NR, and what could be more Out? . . . **Sir Shane Leslie**, of course, is the son of Jennie Jerome's sister. . . . **Jared Lobdell** edits *Insight and Outlook*, one of best of the student conservative journals, from the University of Wisconsin. . . . **Edwin McDowell** is an editorial writer on the *Arizona Republic*. . . . **Francis Russell's** subjects include Sacco and Vanzetti, Boston, apples, Europe, baking, World War I, World War II, Ireland, and many more, including movies. →

La Mauresque Cap Ferrat

LA MAURESQUE, the MEDITERRANEAN VILLA at CAP FERRAT, which was the late SOMERSET MAUGHAM's home, has been offered for sale. Built around a central court, and itself surrounded by gardens of unusual distinction and beauty, the Villa comprises 12 rooms plus servants quarters, beautifully sited swimming, tennis court and additional outbuildings. The entrancing light and air of Provence, the breath-taking views of the sea from the lovely walks on the 8½ acres of invaluable land should bestir the interest of an astute buyer. I have personally inspected LA MAURESQUE this spring. Price on request, to be followed, if relevant, by photographs and brochure with full details. Write or call MARCIA L. BURNHAM, Kent, Conn. 203-927-3117 or in New York 212-988-0196.

LETTERS

On Time

Time's irreverent, irrelevant religion feature did not convince me that God had even a slight case of the flu. However *NR's* philosophy feature ["Is Time Dead?" May 17] has raised grave doubts in my mind about *Time's* health.

If it is discovered that Time has already quietly expired, I suggest instead of sending flowers, we use the money to extend our subscriptions to *NR*.

BARBARA BOHANNON

N. Valley Stream, N.Y.

Messrs. Trot, Ternal and a learned Jesuit theologian, flippantly referred to by your retroactive Spinoza Minor [May 17], sent me a vindication (so they call it) of their views, and desire that I forward such vindication to you.

The reason for my intermediacy remains unclear even to me but it seems the last two have not the time, and the first, on his way to poll the population of Muncie, Indiana, somehow followed a railway's non-Daylight Savings schedule and has not been heard of since (except for a cryptic wire concerning the following).

"Philosopher-in-Residence,
NATIONAL REVIEW

Dear Fellow Lover of Wisdom:

We rise as one to resist your slander. For our revenge we pose a question to your fellow resident, Mrs. Nika Standen Hazelton: Is thyme dead?" Such was their pithy vindication.
Bronx, N.Y.

STEPHEN R. VALLANCE

Comprenez-Vous?

James Burnham's last paragraph on the French and West Europeans in "It's Your Ball, Chum" [May 17] is one of the best pieces of journalistic writing I have seen in many years. Egad, an American with some understanding? What next?
Pittsburgh, Pa.

AUSTIN KELLAM

WFB on TV

"Firing Line" starring William F. Buckley Jr. will be seen on Station KHJ in Los Angeles, not Station KHS as the May 3rd issue of *NATIONAL REVIEW* reported it. (True enough. No word as yet from Austin.)

New York, N.Y.

NEAL FREEMAN

Associate Producer
"Firing Line"

Is the Fifth a Menace?

I can't believe that *NR*, as a bastion of individual freedom, is seriously promoting the view in Park Chamberlain's article of April 19 that the Fifth Amendment should be done away with.

Mr. Chamberlain misses the main point: The right to refuse to testify against oneself is an inseparable part of the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty. The defendant does not have to defend himself. Government is obligated to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that he is guilty.

In this as in many other matters of law, there can be no hard and fast rules. But shouldn't conservatives be willing to leave it to the judgment of a jury and community opinion to evaluate the merits of a Fifth Amendment plea, rather than wish to do away with one of the individual's main defenses against organized persecution?

Charlotte, N.C.

CLYDE N. WILSON JR

Park Chamberlain's article does not quote the third clause of the amendment: "Nor shall (any person) be compelled in any criminal case to be witness against himself, nor be deprived of life liberty or property, without due process of law."

Clearly the purpose of the comment after "property" in the authentic rendition is to set off the last phrase so that it refers to both previous phrases equally. I submit that if it were not intended

(Continued on p. 496)



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a sound working knowledge of The Great Society's Crisis...



and how it will affect your money and your future

Look at the coins in your pocket or purse. Every one of your new dimes, quarters and halves looks like "a salami sandwich made with moldy bread". They don't feel right. They certainly don't ring true. The reason: they aren't true. *They aren't silver.*

What has happened to our silver coins?

The answer is an amazing one. *National Review* editor William F. Rickenbacker tells it to us in his new book: **WOODEN NICKELS** or *The Decline and Fall of Silver Coins*. It is the incredible story of rank amateurism at the highest levels of our Federal government...of fiscal irresponsibility without precedent in American history!

Rickenbacker reports the facts and explains their implications in a lively book that is blessedly free of fiscal jargon. It has been written expressly for every layman who has the good sense to be worried about what is happening to his money. Its highly quotable pages quickly make you privy to the meaning of the silver crisis, and how this monetary monster sprang from the tangle of comic bungling and childish naiveté that characterized the cowboys of the New Frontier and LBJ's latest brigade of Deserving Democrats.

WOODEN NICKELS

is a selection of the Conservative Book Club.

"...Brilliant...a model of economic reasoning, yet written with ease and humor. I found it as fascinating as a first class who-done-it-which it is."
—Henry Hazlitt

WOODEN NICKELS will certainly amuse you, for it is filled with the antics of Great Society *Till Eulenspiegels*. But then, as you reflect on what you have learned about silver-supported currency, your smile will likely fade. For here is nothing at all funny about what is happening.

If the subject of silver exchange strikes you as pedestrian, you're in for a nice surprise. For as Mr. Rickenbacker shows, silver—and money—are *fascinating*. They strip away pretense and reveal *all* men for what they really are. (Have you ever looked up in astonishment at a dedicated Liberal-urned-conservative when the subject turns to the management of *his own money*?) Here are some of the scenes to which you are witness in this fascinating book:

.Banks actually *fighting* for the privilege of passing the asket in church on Sundays so that they can *keep the coins* and credit the collection proceeds to the church account.

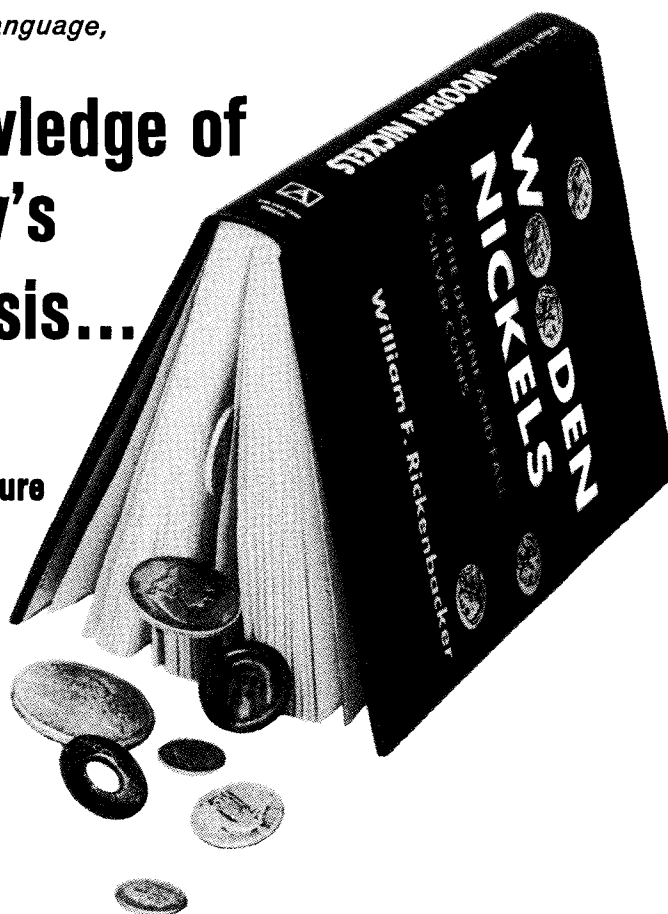
.The story about the Cleveland bank that, in desperation, paid \$202 in order to get \$200 worth of nickels—just to conduct an ordinary day's business.

.Reports on millions of dollars worth of coins slipping into the "mysterious unknown" as bureaucrats studiously ignored their own ineptness while blaming piggy-banks, gum machines and coin collectors.

.The facts about silver actually trickling out of our currency for ten years—*without Washington apparently knowing anything about it!*

.Red China's "Great Leap Forward", financed at the cost of millions of lives and millions of ounces of silver.

.How the fiscal geniuses in our Treasury Department invented the Kennedy half-dollar—and looked on in puzzlement as the free market made a laughing stock of their estimates and calculations.



How to spot the "managed news" traps

As silver coins vanish from the country's cash registers, Washington belches forth an endless volley of press releases blaming the shortage on "the coin collectors who are ganging up on us"... "our mints can't keep up with the population growth"... "the vending machine operators are vindictive"... "international silver-hunger is sucking us dry". All this in the face of the *real* reasons for the silver shortage, which make LBJ's official silver-tongued explainers wring their moist palms.

WOODEN NICKELS guides you through the labyrinth of the June 3, 1965 Presidential message on silver coinage. Point by point, the book tallies up LBJ's exaggerations, contradictions, misconceptions. Rickenbacker's chilling finding: "For the first time since 1792, we are on a money based on a politician's pledge—*nothing more.*"

RISK-FREE EXAMINATION

WOODEN NICKELS is a book that will pay for itself many times over. It shows not only where the Liberal Establishment's money men have gone wrong...not only how they can still retrieve the situation...but also what steps we, as individuals, should take to protect our own money, in the likely event that Big Brother continues to debase the currency.

May we send you a copy of WOODEN NICKELS? Unless you agree the book is valuable and important—and enjoyable to read—your inspection will cost you nothing.

Simply mail coupon below with \$3.95. After two weeks you may, if you wish, return the book for any reason and receive a full refund (including extra money to cover your return postage). But we're quite sure you're going to want to keep it. Mail to your bookseller or: Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801.

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Gentlemen: Enclosed is my check or money order for \$3.95. Please send immediately my copy of WOODEN NICKELS. If not well pleased, I will return the book within two weeks for prompt refund in full, plus extra money to cover my return postage. **NR-206**

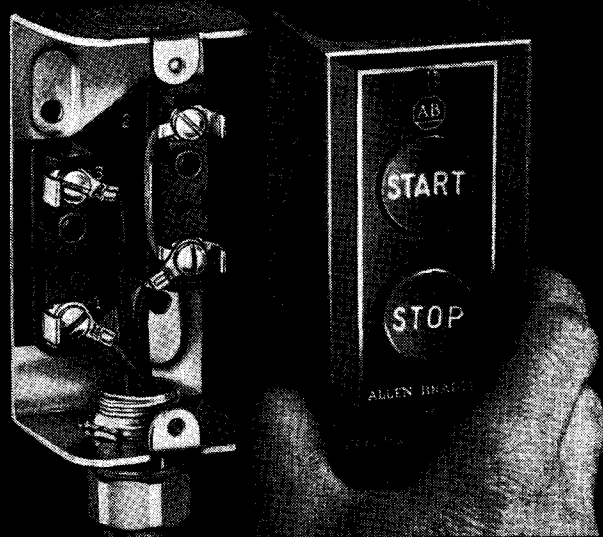
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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 494)

to refer to both phrases equally, it would read: Nor shall (any person) be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process or law . . . (No comma after "property").

The meaning is that a man shall not be compelled in a criminal case to be a witness against himself "without due process of law." But he can be compelled!

Upon reflection it would certainly seem to be the intent of the authors of the Constitution to make sure that the truth were ascertained and the guilty punished in a criminal case.

New York, N.Y. CHARLES F. GALLAGHER

A Reply

To readers whom I have stimulated sufficiently to pursue the matter, I recommend the recent and thoroughly scholarly book, *Shall We Amend the Fifth Amendment?* by Professor Lewis Mayers.

If Mr. Wilson will read Professor Mayers' treatise, he will see that his view of the privilege as "an inseparable part of the right to be presumed innocent

(Continued on p. 547)



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To help you choose the free conservative book that will please me most, I am checking below the subject I am most concerned about:

☐ the Communist menace ☐ domestic politics ☐ free-market economics

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NR-36

“I don’t want to talk about it.”

We don’t want to talk about it if we don’t have it. We don’t want to talk about it if we do have it. We don’t want to talk about it if someone close died of it.

Cancer exists. And we cannot afford to say “I don’t want to talk about it.”

Then when do we start talking about it? Right now.

Cancer is not necessarily a death sentence. Because many cancers can be cured but they must be detected early and treated promptly. How are they detected early? By your doctor. A health checkup once a year, every year, is your best protection against cancer.

Each year more than 90,000 Americans die of cancer who might have been saved. That treatment exists which could

have saved these lives compounds the tragedy of these deaths. For these people did not give medical science a chance to save them.

Today, thanks to research gains, science is able to save 1 in 3 cancer patients. But science must know more to save more lives. Research scientists throughout the country are working to come closer to the ultimate answers to cancer’s awesome questions. Your financial support is an absolute necessity.

“I don’t want to talk about it” is not enough of an answer to the challenge of cancer. No one is asking you to talk about it. But we are asking you to do something about it. Do it. Fight cancer. With a checkup and a check.

American Cancer Society

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The WEEK

● *Sacré bleu, les sales Américains*: French Customs officials have been ordered to search the luggage of incoming Americans for dirty books.

● Washington, May 15. The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is picketing against the war in Vietnam—8,000 strong. The skies darken. It is a cloud from the Orient. It is a radioactive cloud. It is the radioactive, contaminating, Strontium-90-laden cloud exhaled by Communist China's third nuclear explosion. It passes over Washington. It passes over SANE. It passes unremarked over Benjamin Spock. It passes over Norman Thomas. It passes over Daniel Berrigan, S. J., Irving Howe, H. Stuart Hughes. It passes over the continental U.S. Two sheep look up in Nevada. They cough.

● COOL, COOLER, COOLEST DEPT.: The Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. dropped by at Tallahassee last week, passed the time of day with reporters, and announced that *his* man in this week's runoff gubernatorial primary is Miami mayor Robert King High. Now Robert King High is the most manicured young Liberal of the season—he's fresh, ambitious, has modeled his speaking style on Robert Kennedy's, gotten the endorsement of Robert Kennedy, had Arthur Schlesinger in to do a little speaking for him—it had been a go-go all spring. Then along comes old Typhoid Mary with his redolent endorsement of Mayor High and the mayor, remembering where he is, which is in Florida, explodes. We quote the *New York Times*: "Mr. High called the endorsement a 'set-up,' adding: 'I don't know Adam Clayton Powell, and he doesn't know me. I have never even talked to him. I do not want his endorsement. It is not welcomed and not solicited. Isn't it strange that this man came all the way to Florida to endorse me when I have no contact with him?'" All very puzzling to Congressman Powell no doubt, who was just trying to do his friend, the junior senator from New York, a good turn. No doubt.

● The executive committee of the Young Republican National Federation, meeting in Hot Springs the other day, took somber note of the appalling havoc wrought recently by its Liberal-dominated New Jersey chapter. The latter, seizing on a racist song-sheet apparently circulated by one or two irrespon-

sible New Jersey YRs, has been holding public "hearings" off and on for months, spraying groundless imputations of anti-Semitism all over its own local opponents and doing its best to slosh a few on the national YR organization as well. In measured response, the national YRs adopted a resolution 1) affirming that social and religious intolerance are totally incompatible with Republicanism, 2) charging the New Jersey YR leadership with acting in bad faith, 3) noting that damaging charges against individuals entitled to the presumption of innocence had been summarily tried in the press, 4) ordering the New Jersey YRs to rid themselves forthwith of all individual members who had brought Young Republicanism into disrepute, and 5) warning that, if they fail to do so, the New Jersey state YR charter will be revoked.

● A family planning bill (birth control, etc.) turned over to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee was further relegated to its subcommittee on Manpower.

● The New Hollywood: Filming of Hans Helmut Kirst's novel, *The Night of the Generals*, continues serenely in West Germany, whither the locale of the novel was changed to oblige—not the box office, nor yet the front office—but the Big Boys behind the Iron Curtain. According to the *New York Times*: "In Kirst's thriller the leading villain, whom Peter O'Toole is portraying, was a former German general who in the postwar era becomes a general in the East German Army. But in the movie he will become a neo-Nazi leader in West Germany financed by powerful industrialists." The switch was made in order to get permission from the commissars for three weeks of shooting on Polish soil—only a switch like this is not a switch. Says a pollyanalyzing studio spokesman: "The problem of right-wing industrialists in West Germany seeking political power—touched on in Kirst's novel—actually has become more of a problem today than five years ago when Kirst wrote the book." Yes-men like this Louis B. Mayer should have had. As for us, we'll only insist on the credit line, "Adapted from the original by Wladislaw Gomułka."

● There are four candidates so far running to be the Democratic nominee for governor of New York. None of them has the remotest chance of getting away from Bobby Kennedy. Under pain of being refused his endorsement, all four—Frank O'Connor, Eugene Nickerson, Howard J. Samuels, and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.—are showing themselves about the state in a gang, vying from the same platform for points and position. Kennedy, who presides at each of the "forums" (sole area of contention: the 15-cent fare), plays no favorites, takes no role in the dis-

cussion. In September he will choose to back one, or none; such is the lordliness of his operation. Meanwhile, Ithaca, Brooklyn, Buffalo and Saratoga Springs are turning out—not so much to see the contenders as to see, and touch, Bobby.

● Oh the Compassion of it All: A UPI news photo shows Communist Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi at the Peking hospital bedside of Chao Hsiao-shou, a Red China diplomat wounded in the recent unpleasantness in Indonesia. He is reading to Chao Hsiao-shou. Is it a citation, perhaps—the order of Mao Tse-tung with lotus leaves? No, according to the caption, Chen Yi is reading his own poem, entitled “Best Regards to Anti-Imperialist Fighter Chao-Hsiao.” The kind of thing one can tell comrade grandchildren about in the twilight years.

● Whether Liberia and Ethiopia went to the World Court with clean hands may be determined in late June, when their charge that South Africa violated her mandate over South West Africa by extending apartheid into that territory is adjudicated. Meanwhile, a book entitled *Growth Without Development*—a study of Liberia undertaken for the Agency for International Development by four economists who report that Liberia is run for their own delectation by a small clique of descendants of freed slaves from America who exploit the indigenous African tribes—was to have been published, by Northwestern University Press, on April 29. It was not; or, at least, it is not available, whether or not it enjoys corporeal existence. State Department orders, according to the publisher. Someone has mumbled something about “possible irregularities” in the 1960 agreement under which the study was conducted. “Ridiculous,” says one of the authors. How soon will it be straightened out? Not before the International Court of Justice finishes with the South West Africa case, is one guess.

● The Labor Party suffered a grievous embarrassment in the House of Commons the other day, with a resultant loss of political face that gave Harold Wilson a sleepless night or two. As “As It Happens,” the neo-London Times’ new chatter column, recounted the incident: “Mr. George Thomas, Minister of State for Wales, became uneasily conscious on the Treasury bench that there was something about his appearance giving a lot of innocent fun to the Tory front and backbenchers. Mr. Robert Chichester-Clark at last took pity on him. ‘You are wearing an Old Etonian tie,’ he whispered. ‘Surely not,’ said Mr. Thomas, ‘I bought it in the Tonypandy Co-op.’”

● Fifteen former field marshals and generals of the Mau Mau have joined to form a publishing company, the Kenya African Friendship Press, for the purpose

of cleaning up the corporate image. It seems the things that were said about the Mau Mau during its ten-year campaign to exterminate the British in Kenya, as for example that they ate people, are simply not true. There have been other inaccuracies, grave distortions of fact. As Marshal Mwariama, 37-year-old ex-terrorist, says: “A British soldier had his foot on my head. And they said I was dead. But here I am.” The first book, by an official historian with the gift of tongues, has already been commissioned, and will appear in Kikuyu, Swahili, English, and German. Personal reminiscences have been solicited among the alumni, and are rolling in from all parts of the country. No word as yet from Jomo Kenyatta.

● Going the rounds of NR editorial circles: Where’s Buckley?

● “I’m delighted to be here tonight with so many of my good and old friends—as well as some members of the Foreign Relations Committee.” It’s on the record, before 6,000 Democrats at a \$100-a-plate dinner, just two weeks ago. “You can say one thing about those hearings—but I don’t think this is the place to say it.” A little touch of acrimony, scarcely more than a grimace. Even so, the moving finger must record history’s first derogatory reference, in public, by President Lyndon B. Johnson, to Senator J. William Fulbright.

Dilemma in Dominica

American Liberals have adopted the Dominican Republic and are showing more interest in the election scheduled for June 1 than they have in any foreign election since the Spanish in 1931 elected a republic, plus a half dozen years of bloodshed followed by a military dictator, lest we forget, lest we forget. Their principal spokesman is Mr. Theodore Draper, the historian-journalist who is writing articles under such headings as “A Case of Political Obscenity” (*New Leader*, May 9, 1966)—headings whose emotional register exactly conveys the author’s disgust with the United States for intervening last year in Dominican affairs, and his exhortation to the United States to intervene this year, so as to see to it that Juan Bosch becomes President.

Bosch must be an extraordinary man. Few newspaper reporters, or for that matter historians, emerge from his cloistered office unmoved by him. It is all the more a tribute to his magnetism that he should so overwhelm them when one considers that the historic record suggests that Bosch was born not to rule. He is idiosyncratic, vain, petulant, verbose, paranoid, cowardly, indecisive. He is not a Communist, and

has from time to time belabored the Communists, in impressive but abstract rhetoric. But he is as well equipped to keep Communism away from his government as, say, Robert Oppenheimer to administer the federal loyalty-security program. It just isn't the kind of thing Bosch knows how to do; in fact, he has already proven himself unsuited in general for the task of governing. So that the Liberals, who seek a government by the democratic Left for the Dominican Republic to mediate between the lower classes and the establishment, are not going to get their ideal man even if Bosch wins the election—he is no Muñoz Marín. And, at worst, if Bosch proves impotent, either a) the Communists will take over his movement, totally submerging him, and we will have a civil war, like Spain's, or b) the army will move yet again and, after a civil war, the tormented island will return to another period of military despotism.

Bosch's opponent, Joaquín Balaguer, is an honest man, an able administrator, a man of moderate views and considerable historical understanding, who despises the kind of demagoguery with which Bosch has in the past fueled the hopes of the poor beyond the possibility of redemption. If Balaguer wins the election, the Dominican Republic can hope for a restoration of order, and for slow progress towards justice and material gain. But only provided Bosch and/or his supporters agree to abide by the vote of the majority; and it appears unlikely that they are prepared to do this. Bosch has already announced that the election will not be "free," and the rumor circulates that he will pull out as an active candidate, and then accept a last-minute draft and permit his

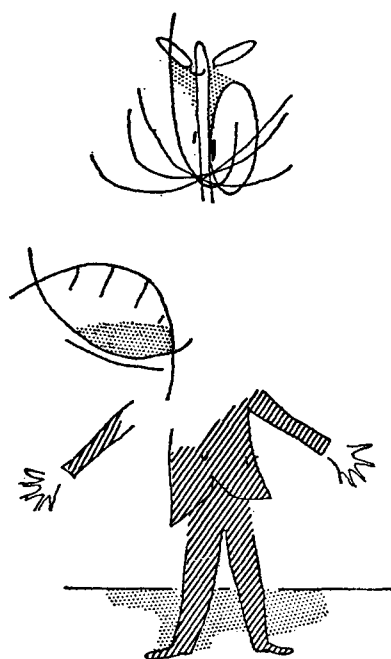
name to stay on the ballot. By which maneuvers, he would hope a) to generate a tidal wave of popular enthusiasm for him which might carry him to victory, or b) to lay the groundwork for revolutionary resistance if he loses.

Under ideal circumstances, one would direct the same exhortations to both sides: abide by the vote of the majority, and hope for the best. But that is difficult advice to give categorically to those Dominicans who believe that a government under President Bosch would permit the country to be swung into Communism. The problem, then, is one of timing. If Bosch is elected, and his regime aborted before it is given a chance, world opinion will never forgive the aborters. But if sophisticated vigilantes wait too long, it might be too late—unquestionably, one of President Bosch's first acts would be to subjugate the military. That is the dilemma conservative Dominicans are plagued by. A prediction: if Balaguer wins, and Bosch refuses to cooperate with his government, Mr. Theodore Draper will not protest the obscenity.

Drop By New York

A friend, a visiting journalist from London, in New York for the first time, bade his hosts goodnight and, with his wife, went out to hail a taxi. Huh! He might as well have looked in the yellow pages of the telephone directory for stores that sell atomic bombs. He waited, and waited. Then went to Fifth Avenue to wait for a bus—and waited and waited. Then began to walk to the Plaza Hotel, a mile or so away. As he got closer, the demands of nature got more acute, and, he reports, he covered the last ten blocks like a decathlon runner, finally coping with his emergency, but quite possibly leaving his wife with an emergency of her own. In high heels, she could not keep up with her husband, and so was left to walk alone. And in New York, unaccompanied women shouldn't do this.

Dangerous enough to breathe the air. The air manufacturers, like the taxi drivers, sometimes seem to be on strike. The afternoon newspapers, which sometimes record the intensity of noxious gases in the air, were certainly on strike, and of course everything was grounded in the early part of the year, and now the nurses are going to strike. If our friend from London wishes to get away from it all, he can book a plane back home. But someone will have to figure out how to get him to the airport, because the limousines are on strike. And oh yes, New York is broke, and the tax proposals of the new mayor are exciting neither taxpayers nor the legislators who are supposed to pass on them. Do you out there, friends and readers, smell it when an east wind



***"My life is an Open Book—but start
on page 265, otherwise you'll be Turn-
ing Back the Clock!"***

Focus on

WASHINGTON

◆ President Johnson has very neatly placed the blame for increasing spending on everyone but himself. The general press—

even much of the conservative press—has accepted the White House line that the bogeyman is business, the public, or Congress. The facts however are not quite so favorable toward LBJ.

On at least three occasions, the President has attempted to place the blame on Capitol Hill. "Our problem," he said at his April 22 news conference, "is to keep the Congress from appropriating in excess of the [fiscal 1967] budget." He neglected to mention, of course, who sent the astronomical budget of \$112.8 billion to Congress in the first place—a budget which when all the gimmicks are taken into account, probably will incur a deficit of \$10 billion or more.

Even more important though is the LBJ method of selecting where the economy axe is to fall. A careful scrutiny of the President's budget proposals will show that almost all of his proposed cuts are in established and popular handout programs which no one seriously expects Congress to cut in an election year. At the same time, the President is proposing a multitude of new and even more expensive programs—but the headlines tell only of the congressional moves to restore funds to the old programs.

Almost all of the headline-grabbing budget fights, for example, were over appropriations for agriculture and health, education and welfare programs. Typical of agriculture cutbacks suggested by the President were reductions of the school milk program from \$103 million to \$21 million; of the school lunch program from \$157 million to \$138 million, and of rural electrification loans from \$365 million to \$220 million. In all of these areas the House restored funds to the previous levels.

◆ Rep. Silvio O. Conte (R., Mass.) was particularly incensed by the trickery involved. The Administration, he said, had proposed cuts in programs which "were never seriously meant to be accepted" by Congress. "It is my opinion," he added, "that these cuts have been

suggested only in an effort to demonstrate some attempt at fiscal integrity by the Administration. The voters are now supposed to assume that by rejecting these cuts, the House Appropriations Committee must bear responsibility for the huge budget deficit which looms ahead of us. The Committee has accomplished at least part of what it was supposed to do: it has gotten the President off the hook."

The same was true in new appropriations. The President proposed cutting school aid to federally impacted areas from \$338 million to \$183.4 million; the House voted \$416 million. College student loans were authorized at \$190 million for fiscal 1967; LBJ requested a cut of \$34 million, which Congress of course refused. The President proposed elimination of grants to land grant colleges: the House voted \$11.9 million less than the fiscal 1966 figure of \$14.5 million.

Congress of course is no piker when it comes to spending. One of its first legislative accomplishments this year was the "Cold War GI Bill of Rights"—costing an estimated \$327 million the first year. And twice what the President had requested. And the House already has passed a \$593 million federal pay bill (\$290 million more than LBJ had requested), which undoubtedly will be followed by a military pay raise.

◆ But if we add together the President's requests for the GI bill, the pay raise, and for new agriculture, and then total the House appropriations for these programs, we find Congress exceeding the President's requests by \$796 million. That's a lot of money in a year when we should be tightening our belts. But it is still small compared to the President's request for just one new, and wasteful, Great Society measure—the \$2.3 billion asked for his "Demonstration Cities" program. Other LBJ requests—still to be considered by Congress—include the International Health and Education Acts, expansion of the War on Poverty, creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Transportation (with its attendant bureaucracy), foreign aid, and the "Clean Rivers" bill.

Congress should not be excused for its willingness to up the spending. But the President should be excused even less. The real budget tests are not in the established programs we've been reading about this past month, but in the new Great Society proposals now before Congress.

—CATO

blows? What does it smell like? Death? The First National Bank of Chicago wants to go into the under-taking business. It ran a full-page ad the other day in the *Wall Street Journal*: "Could a large stock exchange from New York find happiness in a Mid-western lakeside city?" Anywhere. *Anywhere*.

Ky Goes For Broke

It is impossible to apply the rules of Western political struggle to Southeast Asian politics (cf. Indonesia).

But it does seem safe to conclude that, by sending his marines to occupy the key spots in the left-Buddhist stronghold of Danang, Ky triggered a showdown. If his marines hold firm in Danang, if Ky can follow that operation up by occupying or neutralizing Hué, and if he can prevent large-scale disorders in Saigon itself, there is a good chance that he will be able to consolidate a more effective government than has existed in South Vietnam since 1962. If Ky once again retreats in Danang, either from his own lack of confidence or under Buddhist-induced U.S. pressure, or if he fails to carry through the neces-

sary extension of this Danang push, his government and quite possibly his life may be finished in a matter of days.

It would be improper and imprudent for the United States to tie itself too closely to any given individual, group or party in South Vietnam; but on the same principle it is at least equally imprudent for the United States to help wreck any given individual, group or party that is willing to fight the Vietcong. Ky may be done for in any case, but he is a brave man, and he has proved a far more substantial leader than anyone guessed possible when he took over last June. Let us hope that President Johnson doesn't yield to the ideologues around him and scuttle Ky on the ground that he is an undemocratic "military dictator." A country has got to have a government before it can have a democratic government; before, in fact, it can even have a democratic election.

Our Merry Oldsmolenskmobile

If the reports are correct, then Moscow and Paris and Rome have declared war on Detroit, approximately. Fiat, the Italian automobile manufacturer, has agreed to set up an automotive assembly plant in the Soviet Union. Renault, the venerable French firm now government-owned, is also highly interested in setting up a complete Soviet production line, and

A Query

"New York Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary has ordered his men not to lure homosexuals into breaking the law in order to make arrests."

—News Item

"It's the best thing that ever happened. Most homosexuals like the mayor and Mr. Leary. They're tremendous men."

—Dick Leitsch, President of the Mattachine Society, Inc., an organization of homosexuals

Lindsay and Leary
Do be a dearie.
Stop that old cop on the beat.
He can't go in drag
To trap that poor fag.
Stop him or we'll stamp our feet.

Leary and Lindsay
Are getting so insy
With all the good deeds that they do.
In Mattachine eyes
They're wonderful guys.
Now we call that friendly, don't you?

CASPAR X.

a deal may be announced during de Gaulle's visit late in June.

The Fiat project will be financed through the *Istituto Mobiliare Italiano*—a state agency originally established by Benito Mussolini to encourage industry and exports. Presumably Renault will use both French and Muscovite capital. The Fiat works will turn out between 250,000 and 300,000 cars by 1970, the Renault 300,000. Presently Russia builds 180,000 cars a year. The idea is to build 800,000 in 1970 and more than a million in later years.

From time to time over the years, Moscow has ceased denouncing the bourgeois auto-cult long enough to promise more autos for Ivan, but the present negotiations point to something more serious than propaganda for the Soviet Industrial Miracle. It looks as if Moscow will acquire a couple of high-speed mass production lines—the kind that Detroit converted to tank production in 1941.

As for Detroit, well, Detroit would have been happy to do the business, and tried hard enough, but was hampered by the terrible reputation of its product. Moscow has obviously been studying Mr. Ralph Nader's book and the reports of the Congressional Buggy Hunt, and has decided that Detroit's cars would be unsafe at any speed—even at the speeds that might obtain on the TransSiberian Thruway.

As SANE Goes Marching On . .

The ballyhoo started well before Christmas. There would be another peace march, a brave new peace march, on Washington. A political march this time, to present to the President the hundreds of thousands of pledges that were being gathered throughout the country from people who would bind themselves to vote next November only for those who identified themselves as "peace candidates."

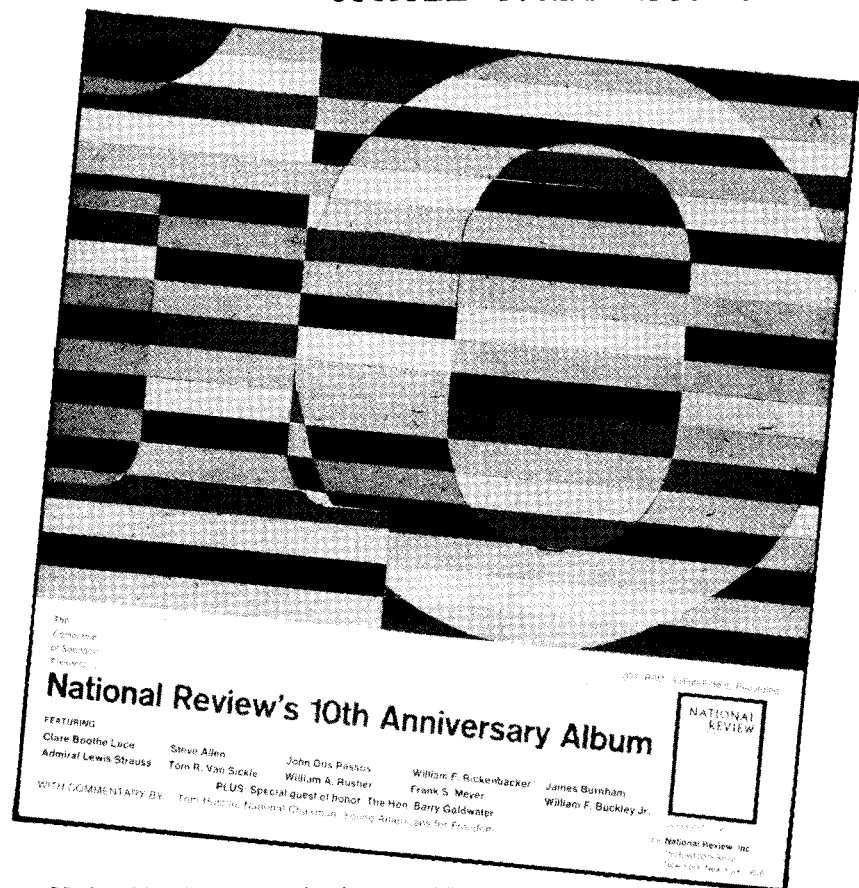
It would be a great turnout, said the ADA publication, the Liberal press, the *National Guardian*, the *Worker*. At least 30,000 were expected. As late as its May 15th issue, the *Worker* urged "every American who wants peace and fears the results of President Johnson's Vietnam policy [to] join with the People's Convention, with SANE, with Women Strike for Peace and all other peace organizations to guarantee the full achievement of their objectives."

On the big day, only 8,000 marchers turned up and they had gathered only 73,000 signatures in over six months' arduous effort. The trouble, explained the *National Guardian*, was that the peace pledge was "excessively moderate," so that only the (coexistence-lining) W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, of the more radical Left, joined in. "Few student groups are enthusiastic about the voters protest," remarked the *Guardian*. "Neither do many of the pacifist, radical Left or independent anti-war committees actively support the drive." The *Washington Post*, in a mood piece on the

WHILE THEY LAST!

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The record is narrated by Tom Huston, National Chairman of Young Americans for Freedom. Speakers include (in order of appearance): Clare Boothe Luce, Adm. Lewis Strauss, Steve Allen, Tom Van Sickle, John Dos Passos and Barry Goldwater on side one. Side two speakers include (in order of appearance): William A. Rusher, William F. Rickenbacker, Frank Meyer, James Burnham and William F. Buckley Jr.

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demonstration, reported somewhat unkindly that "from the conversation it might have been a meeting of the left wing of the League of Women Voters"!

On the surface, it looked like a bomb. Attendance was down; way under what even the uncommitted press had expected. The number of pledges gathered was pitifully small. But new ground had been broken. The marchers on the weekend of May 14-15 were well-dressed, well-behaved and quiet. They listened attentively to Dr. Benjamin Spock, Norman Thomas, Staughton Lynd, Irving Howe of *Dissent* and others. They stormed no police barricades; caused no disruption of traffic; left no litter on the streets. They were by and large solid citizens of the middle class bent on redressing what they believe to be an immoral foreign policy by persuasion or, if that fails, at the ballot box. They are an indication of the inroads the peace movement is making on the nation at large (as discussed elsewhere in this issue by Mr. Burnham). The peace movement, as one revolutionary analyst predicted last summer, is "escalating upward."

On the Road Again

1. By the Nile's Bonnie Banks

Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin and party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, like most of their drab comrades in the post-Khrushchev leadership, give the impression that they are most at ease behind their office desks signing memoranda in quadruplicate. They have spent their time minding the Kremlin shop, and have done little traveling since taking over. But as things go in our restless modern world, even the most bureaucratic leaders have occasionally got to get out and hustle.

Premier Kosygin, with a maximum of prior and concurrent publicity, paid a state visit to the hopefully but so far vainly named United Arab Republic. Nor was there any mystery about the general aim of his mission, which was a further move in a campaign that Moscow has been pursuing with increasing intensity during the past six months—though this present campaign is in truth only a cyclical upsurge in a very long-term drive, the start of which dates far back into pre-revolutionary Russian history: to penetrate the Middle East. Since before Suez, Moscow has believed that Nasser is the key Middle Eastern figure, and has consequently oriented its Middle Eastern policy primarily on him.

This time Kosygin was pressing Nasser to drop petty squabbling (as with the Baathists) and get together with the other revolutionary Arab governments (meaning Syria and Iraq) to smash the reactionary Western puppets (meaning the governments of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iran), complete

the takeover of Yemen and get ready to absorb South Arabia when the British pull out of Aden. While inspecting the Aswan Dam, Kosygin supplemented his strategic point by announcing Soviet underwriting of a vast Syrian dam project on its sector of the Euphrates. Soviet Admiral Sergei Gersikov, of the Kosygin party, was presumably discussing, meanwhile, the further development of the close Soviet-UAR naval tie-up which Moscow sees as now about to expand from the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. The unpleasant topic of Cairo's \$2 billion or so unpaid debt to the Soviet Union was omitted from the public agenda.

In its wooing of the more revolutionary Arabs, Moscow has added a sweetener much to Arab taste: pressures against Soviet Jews and harassment of Israel. Just before Kosygin left for Cairo, for example, Moscow canceled a long-scheduled trip by the Russian Philharmonic Orchestra to Israel, and stopped concerts planned by the Israeli Philharmonic in several Russian cities. At the same time, the Kremlin refused even to discuss an official visit to Russia proposed by Abba Eban, Israeli Foreign Minister. The Israeli Communist representatives were not permitted to address the recent congress of the Soviet party.

Nasser and his guest seemed especially anxious to make repeatedly public one particular common view:



that the United States is committing "horrible aggression" (in Nasser's phrase) in Vietnam; that (as phrased by Nasser's spokesman in the newspaper *Al Ahrām*), friendship with the United States is "impossible" because of Washington's "policy of force and blind pressures"; and that (as Kosygin added) the United States is guilty of "Hitler-like crimes." (N. B.: Nasser's request for another \$150 million of U.S. foodstuffs is now pending.)

2. *While On the Blue Danube . . .*

Party chieftain Leonid Brezhnev, too, was on the road: though his trip was neither planned nor publicized. Nor was he, like his comrade, on a grandiose state journey surveying new worlds to conquer. Brezhnev left silently in the night, in answer to an urgent alarm bell sounding from inside the Communist lines.

Rumania has for several years been an intermittently balky member of the Soviet family. Though not joining Albania in all-out support of Peking, Rumania has refused to make a public condemnation of China's policies. As if guided by an east European version of Gaullism, she rejected the Comecon economic plans that would have made Rumania a non-industrialized granary for her northern neighbors, and more recently refused to accept Warsaw Pact decisions about military policy for east Europe.

On May 7 something altogether unprecedented took place, and it was this that sent Brezhnev galloping to Bucharest. That night Rumanian party chief Nicolae Ceausescu delivered a 20,000-word speech to the 45th anniversary celebration of the Rumanian party's founding. The text was not made public until six days later, but it was of course transmitted at once to the Kremlin. The duty officers read what had never before been spoken or written within the Soviet empire: searing references to the Stalin-Hitler pact; a blast at the Soviet party for having, because of the Pact, directed the Rumanian party not to resist Nazi takeover; an attack on the Russian leadership for having joined with Hitler to force Rumania to cede territories to Hungary; a criticism of "military blocs and the existence of military bases and troops on the territory of other states" that plainly applied to Soviet troops in east Germany, Poland and Hungary; and, in climax, a denunciation of Moscow for compelling Rumania to cede Bessarabia to the Soviet Union—and compelling the Rumanian Communists to approve the cession.

This last charge was the most explosive. For if Moscow's captives once begin agitating about "lost territories," where might the process end? What, then, of eastern Poland, what of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania? of the Ukraine and Georgia? What, indeed, of Rumania itself in relation to Moscow, and of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Poland? For the Russo-

Soviet empire, Ceausescu, though himself a hard-line Communist, was skirting the ultimate heresy. Therefore, the immediate intervention of Soviet Communism's top man. The continued silence before, during and after his journey seemed to indicate: mission unaccomplished.

It's What's Happening

Experts have estimated the maximum attention span of the public mind on any given news story to be from two to three months. At the end of that period the story—whether of a revolt in the Dominican Republic, a Senate inquiry into Vietnam, a murder trial, or a literary controversy—must either have faded away or escalated so as to grip the attention in a new way and become in effect a new story. It would be a foolish reader who continues to suppose, as the press competes for his attention with electronic media of instant communication, that those who get the news cannot at the same time be those who are making it. God making an earthquake is news to be gotten. But the death of God is news to be made.

When news is made, a process begins by which whole fronts—civil rights, Appalachia, the population explosion, the Berkeley revolution—are systematically opened and then collapsed as they cease to yield exploitable issues and personalities. Take civil rights. Among all the issues and personalities and events which have shaped this tale for over a decade the instances of reported news are few besides those of made news. The Montgomery bus boycott of 1956 was reported news; one might even argue that it was the *last* reported news, and that all else—the sit-ins, the marches, the school boycotts, the rent strikes, Selma, Bogalusa, Watts, the Nobel Prize—flowed from it in a self-generating process. Nothing is wrong with this except that it is confusing and corrupting. Civil rights seen as a condition of our corporate political life is not the same thing as civil rights seen as an issue. The press, however, consumes only issues. In the papers, "civil rights"—the issue—is dead. As a story it died when it stopped escalating.

In the world of made news it is an unwritten law that two things similar in kind cannot be news together. If we have Vietnam we cannot have Cuba. If we have the Congo we cannot have the Sudan. If we have Staughton Lynd we cannot have Mario Savio. If we have LeRoi Jones we cannot have James Baldwin. It would be interesting to know what gods govern editorial pre-selection in the national press, and on what basis they decide when we have had enough of Eugene D. Genovese, Andy Warhol, Sherri Finkbine, Madalyn Murray, Jack Ruby, Milton Galamison, Murph the Surf, and Unidentified Flying Objects. These are not persons but phenomena of the journalism of our time. When there is no paper, we are

tempted to suppose they do not exist. Indeed, we are tempted to wonder what news would be if newspapers did not exist. If a government fell with no reporters around, would it make a sound? If there were no reporters, would the government fall?

Owing to newspaper strikes, New York is today

suffering a partial news blackout. Should we ask, what's happening? Should we shrink lest the reply be the Zen-like tag that instantaneously sums up an epoch's engagement with the ebb and flow of pure phenomena—"It's what's happening, baby"? No news is—no news.

On the Right

Chaos and the Civil Rights Bill

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A year ago it went the rounds almost as a joke—"What will be the civil rights act for 1966—what can they think of next?" Last year's voting rights bill was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, to the surprise of many people who simply couldn't, and can't, understand how Congress ever acquired the right to void the states' literacy laws. Now the Administration is backing a civil rights bill which would prohibit discrimination by race, color or creed in the sale or rent of any building.



Buckley

It was all too much for Senator Dirksen who exploded with frustration at the committee hearings and asked how on earth the Congress, under the interstate commerce clause, acquired the right to supervise the sale or rental of a house "rooted to the very ground." Unsmiling, our Attorney General carefully explained that houses are very likely built from wood or bricks or stone which were hewn, fabricated, or cut in some other state. He might have added that the bathtub probably came from out of state, and that the house may use electricity generated far, far away, two or three or even four states down the road.

It isn't surprising, if one recalls that two years ago a civil rights bill declared that a tiny hot dog stand in the center of a state engages in interstate commerce because the mustard or whatever comes in from out of

state, and so falls under the regulation of the Federal Government.

Meanwhile, in California, the State's Supreme Court has invalidated what goes there under the name of Proposition 14. Said Proposition was submitted to the voters in 1964 and was passed 2-1. It invalidated the so-called Rumford Act, and forbade any future legislation whose effect was to impinge on the right of the individual, in his entire discretion, to sell or rent his property to whomever he chose. The State Court invalidated Proposition 14 on the grounds that if one carefully studies the sweep of recent Supreme Court decisions touching on the rights of minorities, one is driven to the conclusion that Proposition 14 is in effect the denial, without due process, of rights of those minorities.

It is all rather startling, because if the California court reasoned correctly, then the pending civil rights measure in Congress would appear to be basically unnecessary except to stipulate procedure and penalties. If it is already unconstitutional to decline to rent an apartment to someone on account of race, color or creed, then one hardly needs fresh federal legislation to affirm that illegality.

The mind boggles—because Congress is proceeding as if it had every right to grant exemptions in the pending measure. There is the matter of "Mrs. Murphy's Boarding House."

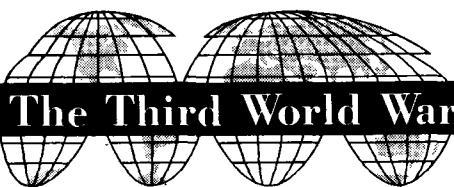
Mrs. Murphy is the code name for a retired lady living anywhere who has five rooms to rent in her little boarding house, wants internal harmony above all, and therefore seeks homogeneous clients—say all Jewish, or all Irish, or all white, or all Negro, or whatever. Congress is greatly disposed to protect Mrs. Murphy, even

though Mr. Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, is dead set against her—"Any exemptions," says Mr. Weaver, "would weaken the bill." Which is like saying that any heat will detract from the cold. Mr. Weaver didn't raise the teasing question lodged by the action of the Supreme Court of California, namely, if it is unconstitutional to affirm the right of the individual to rent or sell as he pleases, how can Congress exercise the right to protect Mrs. Murphy? According to one cast of thought, Mrs. Murphy simply doesn't have that right under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, and if that is the case, what is a mere Congress doing, deliberating whether to protect that "right"?

The difficulty with legal speculation nowadays is that sophistry is in the saddle. If a house—squat, old, rooted in the soil of central Kansas—can be hesto-presto converted into an interstate business, why, Earl Warren can be converted into a strict-constructionist, and the Supreme Court into a guardian of the Constitution.

A half dozen judges of the Supreme Court, in a series of decisions dating back into the nineteenth century and culminating in the famous *Cream of Wheat* case, have explicitly said that no man has the right to determine the conditions under which another man can sell or dispose of his own property. As recently as two years ago, I do believe it would have been inconceivable that the Federal Government would be addressing itself to so-called open-housing legislation.

Ten years before that, the betting would have been that the Supreme Court would overturn state open-housing laws. To judge from the referendum in California, there isn't much doubt that the old right is still cherished by the overwhelming majority of the voters. But people, traditions, logic—all of these have become impudent distractions. What, one wonders, will be the civil rights act of 1967? Let alone 1984?



The Third World War

JAMES BURNHAM

Ground Slipping

You can't see the hour hand move if you keep watching, and so it is with any gradual process. I was away from this country for six weeks, and, getting back, I am struck by what appears to me a substantial shift in



Burnham

public opinion concerning the Vietnam war, though I imagine that if I had been here all along I wouldn't have noticed much change. I have decidedly the impression that anti-war feeling has much increased; increased in the general—

the normal—population at the same time that its more flamboyant expression in the offbeat strata has somewhat abated.

Mr. and Mrs. John Doe were repelled by the antics of Peking-Reds, beatniks, campus beards and New Left teachers of the Genovese-Lynd type. But the example offered by senators like Fulbright and Kennedy, pundits like Lippmann and top level professors like Hans Morgenthau is something else again. It has served to promote doubts among honest citizens and to make respectable an extremist rhetoric—about “U. S. aggression” (against peace-loving peoples, of course), “torture” (by, you guessed it, the U. S. Marines), “napalm” (used exclusively to incinerate grandmothers and babies, it goes without saying), “anti-democratic dictatorship” (in Saigon, that is).

The polls show a steady climb in the percentage of explicit disapproval of the President's persistence in the war; it now runs at about a third, with only a bare majority definitely favorable. For the November elections there are fifty or so candidates in both major parties running on “peace platforms.”

Americans, in whose culture the machine plays so pre-eminent a role,

find it hard to conceive that considerable mental, emotional and verbal factors might determine the outcome of wars. Wars are decided, our culture teaches us to believe, by relative quantities of weapons and firepower. But it is always a question of the mind, emotion and will of him who wields the weapon. If these are sufficiently corroded, a war will inevitably be lost, no matter how great the superiority in material power. As things are now going on the home front, there is a fair probability—perhaps as much as an even chance—that we will lose the Vietnam war.

The opposition is most notably manifest among the intellectuals, or verbalists. There may be only a numerical minority of the intellectuals who are definitely for pullout, but one form or another of opposition is now predominant among their most influential sectors, as the President implicitly recognized in his recent address at Princeton. Mr. Walter Lippmann is quite right in insisting that this sort of division between the political leadership and the intellectuals is, in an advanced mass society, a grave and perhaps mortal trauma. At the least it cripples the national ability to act effectively.

Secession of the Intellectuals

There is nothing surprising in the intellectuals' performance. It was predictable on the form sheets, and had been predicted. Nor are they “betraying” their own beliefs and ideals—however plainly some of them are betraying their country. They are acting out the consequences of the beliefs which they have long professed and have taught to many of the rest of us.

It would be foolish to suppose there is any easy way out of this corrosion of morale. Moreover, certain features of the conduct of the war and of the official apologia for the war do seem peculiarly unsuited to resolving the doubts of the humbler citizens.

(Nothing except quitting would satisfy the dissident intellectuals.) This is the first war that has been fought according to the prescriptions of the game theorists. They have formulated the definitions, the infinite gradations between peace and war, defeat and victory, the elaborate steps in the escalatory ladder that have been guiding our conduct in the Vietnam conflict. But to the ordinary citizen, a war is a war, and if you get into one, you fight as hard as you can to defeat the enemy and win your war. This sort of game theory non-war is puzzling to an uncomputered mind; and, besides, the game theory approach doesn't seem to be doing very well.

Right or Wrong

Then, what the President and his aides tell us about the purposes of the war is also puzzling, and unconvincing. The South Vietnamese are doubtless splendid people, but somehow they don't seem—from the standpoint of the U.S.—to justify the scale of our operation; especially when the operation is so hard on the South Vietnamese. As for “democracy” in Vietnam—north or south—well, nobody's quite that dumb. And if—as the President and Vice President have both declared—we are ready to accept a South Vietnamese government with Communists in it, even one run by Communists, if we'll go home when asked (thus implying we have no reason of our own for being there), then what's all the shooting about?

Surely a good many ordinary citizens are adult enough to understand, if it is explained clearly by their chosen leaders, why—for the sake of our own survival—we must prevent aggressive Communist imperialism from advancing into the southern coastlands of Asia and the South Seas. And there are many more citizens in whose spirit there lurks enough patriotic feeling to move them, if it were appealed to, to support their country in a fight just because it is their country. The President himself is deeply patriotic, but—perhaps because he has kept his concerned eye too exclusively on the intellectuals, lay and senatorial—he has for the most part left the deeper patriotic tones out of his public utterances.

The Mental Health Trap

Robert Simpson didn't like the way things were being run, and said so—vigorously. Was that sufficient reason to charge him with insanity? THEODORE E. SCHULZ

On the Eastern Seaboard and on the West Coast people are taking a belated look at the mental health laws of the nation.

Last October New York State made extensive revisions in its laws. California adopted changes recommended by a committee of its Senate a year ago. Hearings on further changes are being held by a subcommittee of the Assembly.

Regrettably, laws having to do with the commitment, care and treatment of persons suspected of being insane are being studied almost exclusively by professionals—psychiatrists, district attorneys, social workers, judges. These people are asking whether the law enables them to work according to standards currently accepted in their professions. Often, one suspects, the person alleged to be mentally ill is the last to be considered by the professionals.

Perhaps if more non-professional people knew more about the mental health laws of their states there would be a greater demand for revision of those laws. Unfortunately the layman seldom knows anything about the processes whereby people are shunted into institutions for the mentally ill. Unless he has watched a friend or relative being ground between the upper millstone of the mental health laws and the lower millstone of the courts, the layman will have no interest in the way professionals use the tools of their trade or in the fate of those on whom the tools are used.

On June 27, 1965, a substantial group of laymen in Santa Cruz, California, was nonplussed at hearing (assigned) Superior Court Judge Folger Emerson say: "In view of the evidence I can make no other finding except Mr. Simpson is mentally ill, and in need of supervision, care and restraint."

Few people have sat in a court-

room and heard such a statement from the bench. This kind of thing is not often said in open court. It is customary, at least in California, to hold mental health hearings in judges' chambers or in courtrooms from which the public is excluded. Judge Emerson, while opening the hearing into the sanity of 85-year-old Robert Henry Simpson, told a roomful of spectators and witnesses, "We generally take care of these matters in chambers in about twenty minutes."

Robert Simpson had demanded open proceedings. These lasted two full days and part of a third. Many witnesses were called, much testimony was heard and some "evidence" was presented. At the end of the proceedings Judge Emerson said matter-of-factly, "In view of the evidence I can make no other finding. . . ."

Inadequate Investigation

In retrospect it appears that it might have been just as well to conduct the proceedings in private with only the subject (defendant), the petitioner (prosecutor) and the judge present. The outcome would probably have been the same.

The mental health laws of the State of California seem designed to make it easy to get rid of unwanted, bothersome, elderly or eccentric persons by committing them to an institution for the mentally ill. If the case of octogenarian Robert H. Simpson is typical, thousands of useful, virile, determined but perhaps "cantankerous" senior citizens stand daily on the threshold of some bughouse.

No effort was made by the court to determine whether there was factual and rational basis for Simpson's accusations. Apparently it was enough for the court to be told that an old man had accused nine judges

and two district attorneys of serious crime and the attorney general and the governor of exhibiting indifference to his complaints. Simpson has a letter from an aide to one attorney general saying the state office had received (Simpson's) serious complaints concerning the district attorney but "we are not coming down to investigate."

Nor was any effort made on the part of the court to find whether the denunciatory and accusatory letters and handbills indicated insanity in the legal sense on the part of the author or only unconventional, egregious, stubborn, bizarre conduct.

Friendly witnesses testified that they believed, because of their own observations and experience, that Simpson's charges were based on fact. They testified that Simpson was not mentally ill, that he was completely in touch with reality, that his conduct betrayed no delusions, that there had been no significant change in his behavior patterns in all the years they had known him.

In a letter written to the judge before hearing began one witness had warned that District Attorney Pease was prejudiced against the defendant, had used threatening language concerning him and had made false statements in his petition to the court. The judge chose to ignore the letter. He found nothing suspicious in the fact that the DA-petitioner-prosecutor was one of the persons accused by Simpson in his printed handbills and formal court actions.

The court chose to place more credence in the testimony of the two court-appointed psychiatrists than in that of three children of the defendant, who had known their father for about fifty years, or in that of three non-relatives who had known Simpson intimately during the four or five years immediately past. Hav-

ing chosen, the judge could "make no other finding. . . ."

Just how seriously did the court take its own findings? Not very seriously.

The court-appointed psychiatrists had testified that Simpson was suffering from paranoia. This is a more or less identifiable form of mental illness that is recognized in professional and legal circles. But the court did not sustain its own witness. The judge did not specify the illness from which he found Simpson to be suffering. He merely found that Simpson was "mentally ill."

The court did not indicate what degree of supervision, care or restraint Simpson required. In fact, the judge prescribed none. He expressed the opinion that institutional care was not indicated. He first recommended that Simpson get out of Santa Cruz County, away from the scene of his long battle with officialdom. But he placed little value on this idea for, a few moments later, he put Simpson into the custody of one of his sons and permitted them to reside in the county.

Laws Are Ambiguous

The Simpson case was not concluded with Judge Emerson's "finding." Soon after the court had announced its decision and disposed of the defendant, both the elder and the younger Simpson applied to the judge for clarification of his finding and for explication of the need for supervision, care and restraint. None was given.

In October Simpson was haled into court to show cause why he should not be committed (because he had again distributed handbills). He was subjected to a phony "citizen's arrest" and delivered to the psychiatric ward of the County Hospital. On October 13, he was sent to Agnews "pending hearing before jury."

There have been a change of venue, change of attorneys, petitions for writ of habeas corpus, postponements. But Simpson has had none of the promised care or treatment or expert psychiatric examination—only restraint of his freedom. On handbills he has managed to have printed while in custody he charges: "Agnews State Hospital used as politi-

tical prison for critics of Governor Brown, Justice Stanley Mosk, Attorney General Lynch . . . District Attorney Pease the avenging medium."

Informed laymen in California are disturbed not only at the secrecy under which the mental condition of citizens is examined. They are disturbed, too, by the inadequacy of the laws and by their slovenly application in the courts. California laymen can easily see that the laws are loosely drawn and ambiguous. Observation of judges and institutional personnel leads surely to the conclusion that laws are being abused. Present laws make it much too easy for judges and administrators to gang up on the unwary or friendless citizen. Thorough acquaintance with the case of Robert Henry Simpson causes one to suspect that the Welfare and Institutions Code is being substituted for the Penal Code and the Code of Civil Procedure. There is growing suspicion that political considerations rather than facts often determine the "findings" of the courts. There is no doubt that present laws are far from sufficient to protect the individual alleged to be mentally ill.

Often the laws are permissive instead of mandatory. Judges are given discretion that leads to arbitrary, capricious conduct. With a careless or corrupt judge on the bench the subject of a mental health hearing can appear in court already "convicted"—a mentally ill person (not one *alleged* or *believed* to be mentally ill). He must assume the burden of proving that he is not dangerous to himself or others and not in need of treatment, care or restraint.

A by-lined report in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of January 19, 1966, begins: "A dismal and shocking picture of procedures for commitment of the mentally ill emerged here yesterday at an Assembly hearing. The legislators heard that mental health patients are committed to state mental hospitals after as little as a five-minute psychiatric examination and an equally brief court hearing. In day-long testimony, witnesses and members of the Assembly Subcommittee on Mental Health criticized practices of psychiatrists, physicians, judges and others involved in putting involuntary patients in state mental hospitals."

But if abuse of mental health laws in California is as widespread as testimony before legislative committees indicates, why single out the case of Robert Henry Simpson for special mention?

—Because of its peculiar origin—a quarrel among members of the Unitarian Fellowship of Santa Cruz County that began when Simpson, a member, delivered himself of some caustic remarks concerning speakers and asked one if he were "speaking for the Kremlin or for Uncle Sam."

—Because the district attorney tried to use his office to pressure Simpson into leaving the Fellowship to "seek another church home."

—Because of the questionable conduct of the district attorney and a Municipal Court judge when Simpson was arrested, on July 3, 1960, later "tried," found guilty and placed on probation against his expressed will.

—Because Simpson has persevered for five years in his effort to secure justice. He has been arrested many times on various charges, chiefly violation of probation and disturbing the peace. Three times he was arraigned and three times charges were dropped before beginning the trial. But he has spent 81 days in jail, sometimes when no charges had been preferred and no court action was pending.

—Because, too, the Simpson case has become known all over California and in the nation's capital.

Libel=Insanity?

The charges that Simpson has leveled over the past five years at certain public officials and private citizens by word of mouth, on placards and handbills and on postal cards sent through the United States mails are libelous per se. Yet Simpson has not been cited for libel, either civil or criminal. He has offered, in the presence of witnesses, to pay the filing fees if judges in Santa Cruz County would sue him for libel. The offer has not been accepted. Instead he has been haled into court as a "mentally ill person."

It is the belief of the writer that the case of Bob Simpson points up shocking conditions in the courts and law enforcement offices of California and in that of the governor. If one man in one county can be denied a

hearing before a jury of his serious complaints, what reason is there to suppose others in other counties will fare better? And if these things can happen in California may they not also be happening in New York and points between the West Coast and the Eastern Seaboard?

The testimony presented by "the people" in the case of Robert Simpson was chiefly that of two psychiatrists, one of whom was the resident psychiatrist at Santa Cruz County General Hospital. It was this county that was trying to prove Simpson mentally ill. The other was employed by the State at Soledad prison. He was appointed at the request of petitioner-prosecutor Richard J. Pease, district attorney of Santa Cruz County.

This pair examined Simpson in private for less than one hour. They rejected the request of Simpson's children that they be allowed to witness the examination and to take stenographic or tape recordings. The source of their "knowledge" of the defendant was material supplied by the prosecutor, the district attorney. On the basis of such cursory examination the doctors testified that Simpson was suffering from paranoia, delusions and obsessions of grandeur and/or omnipotence.

The "evidence" against Simpson consisted of a large number of letters he had written to public officials and handbills he had caused to be printed and distributed. These letters and handbills accused two district attorneys, nine Municipal and Superior Court judges, some other public officials and a few private citizens of criminal conduct or of condoning such conduct. Some of these persons had been formally accused in Superior Court by Simpson.

This "evidence" was accepted by the court as proof that Simpson was mentally ill. Counsel for the people pretended to be scandalized that Simpson would include "everybody" in his accusations—even two attorneys general and the governor of the state. He tried to make it appear that Simpson believed that there was a widespread conspiracy against him. The inference was that anybody who could accuse so many of so much must be nuts.

The crimes of which Simpson had accused a group of named officials

and private citizens (not "everybody who happened to disagree with him") ranged from false arrest and malicious prosecution through accepting bribes or other inducements to conspiracy to obstruct justice.

The ease with which allegedly insane persons are removed from circulation and confined in institutions is indicated by the remarks of another judge who was assigned to the Simpson case following Judge Emerson. San Mateo County Judge Frank J. Blum offered the opinion that Agnews State Hospital in San Jose is a perfectly safe place for persons adjudged to be mentally ill. There, the judge said, the patient would have the benefit of expert psychiatric examination and proper physical and medical care. The judge was sure of the quality of care given at Agnews because, he said, "We send twenty or thirty from our county there every week." (This is done in two short morning sessions each week!)

Commitment in Nine Days

The process of examination and commitment works so smoothly and rapidly (and privately) that the victim can find himself in Agnews before his friends realize he is missing from the familiar scene. Given a designing or vindictive petitioner and a cooperative judge, a person in California can be committed to an institution within nine days. Nine days after a judge has signed an order for a hearing into his mental health a person can learn that he has been adjudged insane and committed to an institution. The law assumes that during those few days the victim will be able to engage the services of a psychiatrist and of an attorney to represent him intelligently. This is impossible.

In the case of Robert Simpson of Santa Cruz an attorney appeared as *amicus curiae* after perhaps two days' review of the background. While none of the defendant's friends or relatives has anything but respect for the attorney or appreciation for his efforts, it was apparent that, because of lack of background information, counsel missed opportunities to challenge witnesses and to demand the entering of "evidence" as formal exhibits.

The prosecution, on the other hand,

had been preparing for this occasion for several years. Three prior attempts had been made by the district attorney of Santa Cruz County to have Simpson committed. Each attempt failed because of legal bungling. Now, at long last, "the people" felt they were ready to spring the trap.

The Welfare and Institutions Code of the state gives any person the right to petition the court for a hearing into the mental health of any other person. The law requires the district attorney to complete and file the petition and other needed papers when requested by petitioner to do so. This puts the power of the state behind the person seeking to have another declared mentally ill. Petitioner incurs no civil or criminal liability for instituting proceedings, even when the person alleged to be mentally ill is found to be of sound mind.

(There is a contradiction in the law in this connection since another section of the code gives the court the authority to make petitioner bear the costs of proceedings in the event the subject is found sane. But this is a permissive regulation, not mandatory. It is hard to imagine a judge who has cooperated willingly with petitioner in arranging for and conducting a hearing suddenly deciding that petitioner deserves to be stuck with the costs of expert testimony, witnesses and attorneys. This is especially hard to imagine when petitioner is, as in the case of Simpson, the district attorney.)

The court is obliged to have the subject examined by two medical examiners. These are doctors commissioned or certified by the Department of Mental Hygiene. Thus, they are actually employees of the state. Although these medical-surgical doctors may know nothing of mental disorders, they can advise the court concerning the mental condition of the subject and the type of treatment required and the place where the treatment should be administered. The court, in its turn, seems to have the power to appoint psychiatrists to examine the subject in private and to supply these psychiatrists with "evidence" of the subject's mental imbalance.

The court will, almost as a matter

(Continued on page 547)



FOUR AGAINST

The Red China Lobby

DAVID NELSON ROWE • WALTER H. JUDD • FRANZ MICHAEL • GEORGE E. TAYLOR

Introduction

THEODORE LIT

THE WAR in Vietnam has brought into sharper focus the perennial question of Communist China; the question, that is, of what should be done—if anything—about admission to the United Nations, diplomatic recognition, increased trade, cultural exchange.

In this connection, it is astonishing to note how little things have changed since the late 1940s when Mao Tse-tung & Co. were helped to power by the band of China experts in the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) and in the State Department.

Then they were saying that the Chinese Communists were merely agrarian reformers and that the element in China to be most concerned about was the “corrupt” Chiang Kai-shek and the warloads. Our China experts of the left-Liberal persuasion helped the Communists seize a continent.

Now they are concerned with legitimizing the Red China regime in the concert of nations. Their help is being extended precisely at the time when Communist China finds its fortunes at low ebb—at home and abroad, economically and diplomatically.

These friends and members of the Red China lobby point to the Soviet Union as a happy example of the co-existence spirit which the free world might expect from Communist China, if only the mainland regime were accorded the minimal international courtesies—diplomatic recognition, admission to the United Nations, expanded trade.

The final abandonment of Nationalist China which such a policy would entail creates no crisis of conscience among these self-described realists, for the main enemy in the Far East continues to be Chiang Kai-shek.

One of the ironies of the situation lies in the fact that the very people who in large measure are personally and historically responsible for the political disaster on the Chinese

mainland are today hailed as experts by the communications media, the universities and important members of the Congress.

Thus, despite the brilliant and scholarly exposure of the IPR and its collaborators by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee more than a decade ago, once again we hear the confident voices of such experts as Owen Lattimore, John K. Fairbank, John Stewart Service and Oliver Edmund Clubb. A sorry confirmation of Hegel’s observation to the effect that the one thing we learn from history is that we do not learn from history!

The recent hearings by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee furnished a platform for many spokesmen for the Red China lobby, all of whom peddled the new line of “containment without isolation,” the now fashionable euphemism for appeasement.

The Opposition

Fortunately, the hearings also featured testimony by some spokesmen for a realistic approach to the China question. Among these, four in particular developed a vigorous and closely reasoned rebuttal to the vagaries of the Red China lobby. The four are: Professor David Nelson Rowe of Yale University, former Representative Walter H. Judd, Professor Franz Michael of Georgetown University and Professor George E. Taylor of the University of Washington.

—David Rowe is a professor in the Department of International Studies at Yale University. He was born in Nanking, China and worked with the OSS during World War II. He was a special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador to China. He taught at Taiwan University from 1954–1956; was a member of the international secretariat of the United Nations Found-

ing Conference in San Francisco in 1945. Among his books is *Modern China: A Brief History*.

—Walter Judd was a medical missionary in China from 1925 to 1938. He returned to the United States with his family in '38 and spent the next two years lecturing to church groups around the country on the dangers of Japanese imperialism. He was elected to the 78th Congress from the Fifth Congressional District in Minnesota and served through the 82nd Congress. He was a U.S. delegate to the 12th session of the UN General Assembly; one of the founders of the Committee of One Million against Admission of Red China to the United Nations. He speaks Chinese fluently and knows personally most of the influential Chinese leaders, both Nationalist and Communist.

—Franz Michael taught in Hangchow, China from 1934 to 1938. From 1942 to 1964 he was professor of Far Eastern History and Government and assistant director of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute at the University of Washington. He is now professor of International Affairs and Sino-Soviet Studies at George Washington University. Among his publications is *The Origin of Manchu Rule in China*. He has just published the first part of a three-part documentary history of the Taiping Rebellion.

—George Taylor is Director of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington. He lived and taught in China from 1930 to 1939. During World War II he served as a China expert in the State Department. He is the author of a number of books on the Far East, including *The Struggle for North China* and *America in the New Pacific*. He is the co-author (with Franz Michael) of *The Far East in the Modern World*.

Although these scholars represent a minority view in the American in-

tellectual community, their testimony articulates American public opinion on Red China (an opinion mobilized in large degree, since 1953, by the Committee of One Million).

Significantly, the national platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties oppose the admission of Red China to the UN; a Gallup poll of January, 1966 shows 67 per cent of the American people are opposed to the admission of Red China to the UN; the Congress has repeatedly gone on record opposing concessions to Peking.

All of which opens the nagging question: Why does the Liberal Establishment pursue an appeasement policy toward Communist regimes?

The appeasement policy is not based on a principled pacifism, in view of the fact that the Liberals enthusiastically supported the war against Nazi Germany. Nor does the appeasement policy spring *exclusively* from a fear of a mutually destructive nuclear war. It should be remembered that the Liberals also pushed for an appeasement line during the early postwar period when the United States enjoyed a *monopoly* of nuclear bombs.

The answer is indirectly suggested

in a statement by Senator J. W. Fulbright in the first of his Johns Hopkins University lectures. Commenting on the national debate on the Vietnam war, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warned: "It is by no means certain that the relatively healthy atmosphere in which the debate is now taking place will not give way to fears, and tolerance and freedom of discussion will give way to a false and strident patriotism."

Senator Fulbright's qualification of patriotism is not to be taken too literally. This is the Aesopian language of the modern, sophisticated Liberal. For it is patriotism—normal, healthy patriotism—which propels the average American to oppose international Communism. And it is this normal healthy patriotism which, in the nature of things, would be heightened in the course of a genuine, all-out struggle against international Communism. The Liberal senses the violent contradiction between patriotism—of any degree—and the intellectual power position of the Establishment. It is patriotism—more than Communism—which the Liberal Establishment sees as the main enemy.

To be sure, there is always the possibility that normal, healthy patriotism, under a condition of great international stress, may be transformed into the "false and strident" patriotism that Fulbright evokes. It is this added risk from which the Liberal particularly shrinks, preferring instead, through an appeasement policy, the risk of a Communism triumphant.

If this be so, there can be no genuine debate between the Liberal and the anti-Communist communities. Yet it is important that the formal argument against appeasing Communist China be widely disseminated. For the argument finally finds its way to grassroots Americans and fortifies them in their conviction that there is no substitute for victory. And it does correct the thinking of those members of the Liberal Establishment who are sensitive to the persuasive power of right reason.

Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, the press, radio and television gave only meager coverage to the genuinely expert testimony of these witnesses. In the interest of fuller reportage, the thrust of their polemic is reproduced in this Special Supplement.

The China Problem Today in United States Policy-Making

DAVID NELSON ROWE

THE KOREAN WAR proved that Communist China was willing to fight the Free World in order to achieve Communist expansionist aims in Asia *vis-à-vis* Korea (Japan was the real objective and the most important one).

The formula has been repeated in: Tibet—anti-India and Nehru.

Laos—250,000 Chinese Communist troops massed on the Laos frontier in 1961-1962 to bring a settlement favorable to Communist China.

Indian Frontier—this involved an actual Sino-Indian war, with Communist Chinese troops fighting Indian troops.

Communist Chinese support for North Vietnam aggression against South Vietnam. The Sino-Russian ploy: North Vietnam (the North

Korea of this episode) is immune from destruction at the hands of the United States and its allies, because of its joint Sino-Soviet backing. Communist China stands behind North Vietnam's aggression militarily, to prevent such military action against North Vietnam as is necessary to the attainment of our military objectives in and for South Vietnam. Thus, Communist China achieves for North Vietnam immunity from the consequences of its aggression in South Vietnam which the previous Sino-Soviet techniques and strategies of support for North Korea failed to achieve, and this without any cost thus far in Communist Chinese manpower.

Thus, Sino-Soviet "indirect" aggression in South Vietnam depends

upon their joint success in preventing the United States from taking military action against North Vietnam adequate to achieve the defense of South Vietnamese independence.

The chief Sino-Soviet weapon in this psychological warfare struggle is the threat of massive Chinese manpower intervening as "people's volunteers" in the Vietnamese war.

To mitigate the risks of Communist China's Southeast Asia policy is the aim of all true friends of Communist China in the U.S.A. today. Many others aid and abet this aim for a variety of reasons.

Thus, almost immediately after the Johnson policy of heavy, direct United States military involvement in the Vietnamese war was initiated, the friends of Communist China be-

gan to emerge from the relative obscurity into which they had been forced by the Communist Chinese attack on us in Korea and to start openly supporting Communist China again and attacking the United States Far Eastern policy at the same time.

These movements, so patently anti-anti-Communist, seem to have forced the Administration to speak as though Communism by and large was not involved in the Vietnamese war, thus robbing us of one of the chief psychological supports and chief political bases of the war in Vietnam and the

such as the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense (much of whose testimony has to be classified). This show then goes on radio and TV (highly edited toward the Left). The whole effect is to depict public "experts" as at odds with the Administration. This not only convinces the Communists in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow of divisions of opinion in the United States that do not exist in fact. It also seems to drive the Administration toward public positions on Communist China that contradict its public position that the

course of the Communist world revolution. In the course of such an event, however, the USSR would assuredly grab both Manchuria and Sinkiang, in order to have those Chinese areas available as bases to start over again the job of communizing east Asia. But the rest of China could be saved, without doubt.

If such a showdown can be prevented for five to ten more years, the pro-Communist-China and anti-anti-Communist elements in this country count on the development of Communist Chinese thermonuclear power to produce a standoff and make Communist China then invulnerable to United States destruction, by means of the retaliatory threat. They could prolong this stage ten to twenty years during which either one and probably both of two things would happen:

The United States would prove unable to develop any effective deterrent to so-called "indirect aggression" and "people's war" with the result that all of Asia would come under Chinese Communist domination and control and the impact on Africa and Latin America would be disastrous.

Under the deterrent of terror the political and psychological pressures toward a *détente* with Communist China similar to present illusions along that line with the USSR, would engender a thorough and complete co-existence policy *vis-à-vis* the Communist Chinese.

The Communist Chinese need co-existence much worse than do the Russians. Why? The lack of massive external support and their huge and insoluble internal problems doom them forever to weakness and mediocrity and complete totalitarianism and military adventurism. They are trying their hardest now to soften our approach to them under the blackmail of aggression and war, to gain *at no cost to them politically* what they need in outside economic and technical support from the West and particularly from the U.S.A. This is why their friends in the United States are trying so hard to soften the American approach to Communist China.

What are the main themes now being pushed by the pro-Communist China and anti-anti-Communist elements along this line?

(Theme) The historical causation



whole war against Communist aggression everywhere. This is clearly seen in President Johnson's Baltimore speech and even more so in his recent speech at Freedom House, New York where he uses "Red" and "Communist" just once each in the whole speech, playing down Communism as an issue in the Vietnam war.

The purpose of the anti-anti-Communists here is clear, namely to try to show that the war in Vietnam has no valid ideological basis and thus to depict it as naked United States aggression without any justification. Who sold President Johnson the line of de-emphasizing Communism as an issue in the Vietnamese war?

Paralleling these movements are the hearings in the Senate which seem to aim at two main effects:

1) To align selected civilian propagandists uniformly against the main lines of United States foreign policy in Asia and then to bring to rebut them the main Administration figures

war in Vietnam could soon be ended if only Communist Chinese attitudes and measures would change. It also seems to lead members of the Administration to start softening their policy of resistance to Communist China by talking "containment without isolation" and to that extent undercutting the Administration's own experts such as Secretary of State Rusk and Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs William Bundy.

2) To have a main effect of softening our resistance to Communist China. Senator Fulbright himself states that the main aim of his hearings on China is a political aim, namely to prevent a war with Communist China.

In fact, the prevention of a military showdown now between the United States and Communist China is the main aim of Communists everywhere. Why?

If such a showdown came soon it would destroy Communist China as such and constitute the single most catastrophic setback in history to the

line. The Communist Chinese foreign policies are merely a logical result of China's frustrations and suffering at the hands of the outside world for the last century or more.

(Theme) The "inevitable softening of the Communist Chinese." This line is pushed hard by all the pro-Communist-China and anti-anti-Communist elements. Even Fidel Castro gives them aid and comfort by blasting the current Chinese Communist leaders as "senile" and anticipating a less dangerous Communist Chinese leadership to come with the demise of Mao.

(Theme) The "two-Chinas" line. This is tantamount to saying we can play with enemies without alienating friends. Whatever the distant future holds we cannot know. But for the responsible policy-making future there can be no two-Chinas policy for the United States or anyone else. For example, the United Kingdom has tried to adopt a two-Chinas policy: recognition of Peking and trying to do business with Taipei. Result: it has neither China. The Communist Chinese have never entered full diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom cannot really cooperate with the Republic of China, or Taiwan, the single most rapidly advancing and developing area in Asia. By contrast, the United States without recognition of Peking has much higher-level diplomatic contacts with the Chinese Communists than Britain, and is the main ally and collaborator with the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Hard and Soft

Question: Can any United States Administration advocate abandonment of the Republic of China without committing political suicide?

Answer: This is what two-Chinas policy advocates really are urging the Administration toward, some knowingly and others unwittingly. I.e. the two-Chinas policy means to start full diplomatic and other relations with Communist China, and with a trend toward this once set in motion we can more easily abandon the Republic of China on Taiwan, particularly since it would break relations with us if we recognized Communist China.

(Theme) The "they don't mean what they say" line. Anyone who be-

lieves in drawing the lessons of history should not object if we say the world would have been better off if more people had taken seriously such historical documents as the Marxist Manifesto, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* or the pre-World War II utterances of the Japanese imperialists. The current utterances of the Communist Chinese leadership seem just as dangerously unrealistic today as the previously cited ones did then. They are therefore hard to give credence to. They are, in fact, filled with nonsense, but then of course so too was *Mein Kampf*! But this is merely to say that all madmen are dangerous, to a great extent precisely because they are mad.

Questions: When men talk madness (as the Communist Chinese do) would it not be wise to assume they mean it until and unless they prove otherwise by their acts? Yes. Are the Communist Chinese proving otherwise by their acts? No—they do just the opposite. Witness: Korea, the Taiwan Straits, the Indian frontier, Laos, and Thailand, as well as Vietnam.

(Theme) The "simultaneous hard and soft" line: "containment, but not isolation." The friends of Communist China and the anti-anti-Communists are constantly describing our post-World War II policy toward the USSR as combining these two features and advocating that we adopt such a policy toward Communist China.

What is the truth?

Our immediate postwar policy toward the USSR was not one of containment, but of surrender. Eastern Europe and Outer Mongolia were surrendered to the USSR with the connivance of the U.S. and the highest pressures being brought to bear by the U.S. on our allies to surrender to the USSR land grabs, as in the case of Nationalist China and of Mongolia. This was an effort to appease Stalin and get him to accept this as his price for cooperating with us. He took the bribe, but did not cooperate.

The containment policy was then resorted to and it has prevented further territorial takeover. However, this whole policy is now threatened by French action in re NATO, and the chief deterrent to armed action by the USSR in Europe is now the mutual thermonuclear threat.

Accordingly, we have generally not applied the policy of surrender of ter-

ritory to Communist China, and in every case but one have resisted Communist Chinese efforts to push outward. This case was Laos in 1961-62, and much of our trouble in Vietnam stems from the application to Laos of the formula of appeasement and surrender through the device we tried to use in China (1946-47) to prevent a Communist Chinese takeover pure and simple, i.e. the coalition government with Communists in it. Sino-Soviet cooperation helped bring about the surrender in Laos and thus to mark out South Vietnam and Thailand as the most likely Communist targets.

As far as Communist China is concerned containment means isolation: the two are one and inseparable and the crux of this problem is Taiwan. The Communist Chinese price for non-isolation (which is a two-sided matter, not solely under our control) is the handing over of Taiwan to them, i.e. destruction of containment. *Any United States Administration which would even suggest any such thing would commit political suicide by producing a major catastrophe in Asian affairs.*

What About Our Allies?

(Theme) The "there is no support among our allies" for our Southeast Asian policy line. This line was, for example, advanced in re the Japanese by that great authority (?) on Japanese affairs, Mr. George Kennan. Mr. Kennan today seems to know even less about Far Eastern affairs than he did seventeen years ago, when I asked him what Asia would mean in our future struggle with Communism. He replied then that the struggle with Communism would be settled somewhere along a line drawn between Stettin in the north and Trieste in the south. Of course, since then we have had Greece and Turkey in Europe; Korea, the Taiwan Straits, and the 17th parallel in Vietnam, not to mention Laos, and the Indian frontier, in Asia.

The Japanese people will respect and honor success on our part in Vietnam. Like others, they view with apprehension any irresolution, lack of determination, or willingness to pull out and surrender, on our part. This is generally true of all Asians, from

Japan clear around through Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Southeast Asia and South Asia. This is one of many reasons why we cannot and must not fail in Vietnam.

Other friends and allies, including Korea, the Republic of China, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, are all helping in various ways in Vietnam, and will doubtless help still more in the future. If and when the need arises, the arrangements have no doubt already been worked out for the Republic of China, on Taiwan, to become directly involved. But, whether this will be required only time can tell.

As to allies and friends in Europe and elsewhere the vast preponderance of them approve what we are doing whether they say so or not. Secretary Rusk is right on this.

What Price Knowledge?

Indeed the notion that to know the Chinese Communists better will make it easier for us to tolerate them is no more true than if we were to say that to know Italy better would make it easier for us to tolerate the Mafia. The fact is we already know enough about both the Mafia and the Chinese Communists to know one thing, and that is that we do not need to know any more in order to justify our policies of opposition and hostility. Of course we can always use more knowledge on what can be described as a tactical level, such, for example, as is being supplied by U-2 overflights from Taiwan. But we are not likely to learn much from proposals to allow our scholars and students of China to visit Communist China, and for two reasons:

1. The Chinese Communists are not going to allow anyone to visit there unless they are convinced that he is a dependable friend of Communism and of Chinese Communism, in particular. They have been following this policy for years.

2. Under these circumstances what knowledge is brought back is likely to be either superficial or biased along pro-Chinese Communist lines.

Even in the USSR, as my colleague Professor Barghoorn [of Yale, who was imprisoned by the Soviets for a fortnight] could no doubt testify, efforts at objective fact-gathering by foreign scholars are not without their

risks! The hazards to life involved in even minor contacts with the utterly incompatible, are clear from the recent death of an innocent American traveler [Newcomb Mott] while in the hands of the Russians. The subsequent warnings to such potential travelers by the State Department were well merited.

The campaign along the lines analyzed above is being carried out in this country at a pitch of intensity unmatched in recent propaganda history. The so-called "teach-in" more extensively used in the earlier phases of the anti-Vietnam-war campaign, has not been emphasized in this one. Instead, full-blown new organizations have been established on a nationwide basis, including ARFEP, or "Americans for a Review of Far Eastern Policy." This organization was started on the Yale campus by a group of students and faculty members. It has been spread across the country from there by a well-manned group of promoters and organizers. Recently a large advertisement advancing its views appeared, for example, in a San Francisco newspaper, as emanating from the "Northern California Chapter" of ARFEP.

Certain features of this organization appear very clearly. For example, what they mean by a "review" of our Far Eastern policy usually turns out to be nothing but propaganda in favor of Communist China in the shape of support for its admission to the United Nations, United States recognition of the Red regime, full United States relations in trade, cultural relations, etc., well calculated to advance the aims, purposes, and interests of Communist China. This propaganda also, at times, is heavily in derogation of our ally, the Republic of China, of President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, etc.

Second, the main centers of organization and the main personnel involved are the colleges and universities. I do not know how many ARFEP centers and branches there are, or how many persons have "signed up" or are otherwise formally or informally affiliated with them. Nor can we fully know at present just what activities they engage in. The following is no doubt an incomplete list of activities: signing petitions and placing advertisements in newspapers; holding small and unadvertised "semi-

nars" conducted by faculty members on China and China policy; sponsoring open debates on China policy questions, with both sides represented (a minor feature); conducting what amounts to a speaker's bureau to supply speakers from one campus to another.

It should be noted that at the University of Pennsylvania conference, not a single academic expert on China will be present to speak on the program in favor of the official United States policy toward Communist China. This defense is relegated to official representatives of the United States Government and of the Republic of China. This repeats the pattern so clearly seen elsewhere, of putting up as academic "experts" on China only those in opposition to the official policy, and "balancing" them with "official spokesmen" who can be discounted in advance as such. Thus, the false impression is created that the "public," represented by the academic experts, is uniformly opposed to the policy of our government at this time. This is false, utterly false.

Owen Lattimore Again

At a conference at Harvard under the auspices of the Collegiate Council for the United Nations on March 25-27, Professor Owen Lattimore of Institute of Pacific Relations fame was scheduled to speak on "The Chinese Revolution: Causes and Consequences."

Also, from an organizational point of view, new and political uses are being made of an organization that predictably would be used for pro-Chinese Communist purposes if and when the time comes to do so. This is the Association of Asian Studies. When I say its current political uses are predictable, I mean just that. I refer you to my statement on this organization made in testimony under oath before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on March 27, 1952 (pp. 4010-4013). I referred then to the Far Eastern Association, which is now the Association of Asian Studies, and I characterized it as designed, at least in part, to take over the political propaganda functions of the Institute of Pacific Relations in case the latter institution came to

grief, as I believe it subsequently did, over questions of the pro-Communist bias of its activities.

What the *New York Times* will print is well exemplified by the letter in its columns for March 18, 1966 by Professor Vera M. Dean of New York University. In this letter the professor, while expressing her views on various policy matters, also expresses her hopes. Among these, as she puts it, is that the "ghosts," as she describes them, of "Senator McCarthy and the Committee of One Million on China" should be "exorcised," and that former "China experts" who she says were driven from the State Department by "McCarthyism" should be sought out to advise the President and Secretary Rusk. Leaving this latter point aside, the Professor should be informed that before she can exorcise the "ghost" of the Committee of One Million it will have to die and produce such a ghost. Far from dying, the Committee is very much alive today, and shows no signs of atrophy. All reports to the contrary are highly premature, to say the least.

In this situation and from this background, in what policy area should our best and strongest efforts be made, to counter the current attempts to support Communist China and its program for Asia and the world? We are talking here, of course, of United States policy alternatives.

I do not believe the matter of possible United States recognition, trade and cultural relations, etc. is central. It is quite doubtful that, under current circumstances, any Administration in Washington would move toward such policies. More real is the danger that we will succumb to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. In fact, so central do I believe this whole question to be to the problem of "standing up to Communist China's grandiose demands" in world affairs, as Professor John Fairbank puts it, that I believe here is where major emphasis should lie in respect to China policy today.

Let us see why the Chinese Communists should not be admitted to the United Nations.

What was the origin of the United Nations?

The United Nations originated as an association of victors in World War II. It excluded the soon-to-be-defeated powers, Germany, Italy, and

Japan. In its very origins it was thus exclusive, not universal. The essential feature was the wartime association of the wartime allies, the "United Nations," and the community of interests that that alliance embodied.

The United Nations: what for?

The United Nations was founded in the hope of peace and to search for it. The functional approach was adopted, i.e. cooperation wherever possible, in whatever measures possible. Measures were to be taken for common and mutual security. The problem of expanding the United Nations mem-



bership arose at the United Nations Conference of 1945. Exhaustive debate at San Francisco in 1945 produced the decision that the organization should not be based on universality of membership, but that there should be qualifications for membership. In the Charter these are:

a) Only peace-loving nations are eligible. It may be difficult to define and determine what is meant by a peace-loving nation, but it is not hard at any given time to determine what nations are breakers and disturbers of the peace.

b) Only those nations are eligible for membership that are willing to assume and live up to the obligations of the Charter.

This opened the way for the defeated nations in World War II to enter, if and when they qualified, and also for new states to enter. But the United Nations, unlike the League of Nations, has never expelled a member, although a member [Indonesia] has voluntarily withdrawn.

Now, what are the issues today?

Communist China's record as to

aggression. This is overwhelmingly relevant to the question of its accepting the "obligations of the Charter." This is not just a matter of Korea. In February 1950, five months after the Chinese Communists established their regime, it began its aggressive course. This was predictable: Mao says every good thing comes out of the barrel of a gun. In February 1950 the Chinese Communists issued a call to all people of Southeast Asia to overthrow their governments. Was this merely a move against colonialism? No. It called for revolution against independent governments also. Then there came the Chinese Communist 1950 Korean aggression and the United Nations resolution (still outstanding) which branded Communist China as aggressor. The Chinese Communist philosophy is: "Ours is a policy of fight-fight, stop-stop, half-fight, half-stop. This is no trick, but a normal thing." This is a philosophy of alternating war and subversion. This was followed by direct Chinese Communist aggression in Southeast Asia (Laos and Thailand), Tibet, India, and indirect aggression in Vietnam.

In view of this, in order to admit Communist China to the United Nations, the United Nations Charter would have to be changed and the relevant qualifications for membership removed. The Chinese know this and themselves say the Charter must be revised as a prerequisite for accepting a seat.

Communist China's position re the United Nations is as follows:

"All countries should review the United Nations Charter together." All "independent countries" should then be admitted and all "imperialist puppet states should be driven out." It wants to expel some members even before its own admission. Clearly the Chinese Communists neither want nor plan either universality or "coexistence."

They openly state what kinds of changes would have to take place in the United Nations:

As a prerequisite to Communist China's accepting a seat, the United Nations would have openly to declare that the United Nations resolution condemning Communist China for aggression in the Korean War was "wrong," and brand the United States as the aggressor in Korea.

Another United Nations would have to be set up as a rival to the present United Nations.

Thus, there is no more argument possible about what the necessary effect of the United Nations admission for Communist China would be: it would destroy the United Nations as we know it. The United States could not be a member under those conditions and would have to withdraw.

The current issue today is the war in Southeast Asia.

The Communist Chinese show complete obduracy here and hold to a hard line of demanding total United States-South Vietnam surrender.

Can we change this by admitting Communist China to the United Nations? On September 1, 1965 New China News Agency authorized broadcast stated: "The Vietnam question has nothing to do with the United Nations."

Another current issue is the Taiwan issue. Communist China demands that we abandon a loyal ally, an excellent partner in economic, social and political development, and a strategic strength close up, by insisting that the United Nations throw the Republic of China out of that body as a prerequisite for its own entry. This would mean we would tell everyone else: "Go make your own settlement with Communist China; become its vassal." Is there a way out of this in the so-called two-Chinas policy? No;

this policy is utterly unfeasible, because the two main parties to it, Communist China and the Republic of China, reject it totally and absolutely.

The general issue today in regard to the western Pacific is: can we have any security if the whole area falls under control of such a hostile power as Communist China? No. We tried withdrawal between 1920 and 1941, but it just led to a greater war.

Can we hope for change in Communist China? It is often said that we can make the United Nations a reform school for Communist China. But, of course, the answer is that if the United Nations is made over on the Communist Chinese model, Communist China won't have to change, will it? Since we can't change that much, we will have to get out if they come in on their terms.

The overriding policy question is the growing United States-Communist China confrontation in Southeast Asia and what it may mean to Communist China: destruction at our hands. In view of this, it is natural that more interest in United States China policy should develop. The possibility is clear that *this time* another major United States-Communist China confrontation may destroy Communist China.

Finally, Pope Paul VI has been widely quoted (October 4, 1965) as urging Communist China's United Nations admission by saying to the United Nations that it should "study

the right method of uniting to your pact of brotherhood in honor and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it." But here is what *L'Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, said of this on October 18-19, 1965. In an editorial under the title "The Church and the Universal Community of States," it takes note of the fact that there are people who have "given a precise political meaning" to those words of His Holiness. Then the editorial declared: "But true universality does not mean the arithmetic sum of nations; it presupposes the convergence of everybody on the effective recognition of and respect for natural law, which is the foundation of the United Nations." That is to say, the rule of law is primary; expanding United Nations membership is secondary.

The Pope is thus saying what we all know to be true, namely that any form of political association must be founded on some measure of agreed-upon community of values, and that for such associations to tolerate as components thereof those elements which deny and forcefully flout the agreed-upon community of values, will seriously endanger and probably eventually destroy the association. Thus, limitations upon membership and upon participation in political action are common to all political communities. The United Nations, weak as it already is, is no exception. It cannot be an exception.

United States Policy Toward China

NO GREAT EXPANSIONIST movement has ever stopped until it was checked. Our choice—with Red China as it was with Japan and Hitler—is not between checking and not checking; it is whether to check early, while we can, and with allies—or try to check the aggression later when it is stronger, closer, and we have fewer and weaker friends and allies.

The question is *how* to check it—with least risk and cost.

From what I have seen in the press, most of the proposed changes in American policy towards Communist China appear to be based on certain

assumptions which do not seem to me to be justified:

—That the Communist regime now in control of the China mainland is here to stay.

The same was said of Hitler, of Khrushchev, of Sukarno, of Nkrumah. People are not so sure now of Castro. Despots generally appear invincible—"until the last five minutes."

—That the United States is stubbornly keeping Red China isolated and therefore we are responsible for its hostility and belligerence. The reverse is the truth; it is Red China's hostility and belligerence in its international attitudes and actions, that are re-

sponsible for its isolation.

—That there is a better hope of getting Red China to change its attitude and activities by giving in to it on matters like diplomatic recognition, trade, and admission to the United Nations than by resolute continuance of the policy of containment as long as Red China refuses to act like a responsible member of civilized society.

—That changing our policy *vis-à-vis* Red China just might start an evolutionary process there.

But, of course, it might just as easily reduce the chances of such an evolutionary process. Everybody de-

sires and hopes for "evolution" in Red China. The debate should be over *what measures are most likely to produce it*:

Giving Red China greater prestige, influence, entrée, that is, making it stronger? Or keeping it as weak and isolated as possible?

Concessions from its intended victims—like the United States? Or pressures from its present victims—the Chinese within Red China, those on Taiwan and in Southeast Asia, Muslims in Indonesia and Malaysia, etc.?

Proving that Red China's truculence and stubborn defiance of the world succeeds? Or showing that it will fail?

Let us look now at the changes in policy toward Red China suggested by some. They are mostly three: official diplomatic recognition by the United States, expansion of trade relations, and admission of Communist China to the United Nations. What would be the probable results of such changes, the gains and losses?

Almost no one, so far as I have seen, goes further than expressing the vague hope that after these steps Red China may "mellow, moderate, mature, evolve." But there is no evidence on which to base the hoped-for gains.

What benefits, economic or political, has Great Britain received from her granting of diplomatic recognition in 1950? Or France two years ago?

Prime Minister Nehru of India recognized Communist China in 1950 and worked out with Chou En-lai the "Five Principles of Coexistence." He remarked that Americans didn't get along very well with the Chinese Communists because we are not Asians, implying that he, being a fellow Asian, could. He was Red China's chief apologist and advocate—at the UN and elsewhere. How did his fellow Asians in Peking respond to his being their best friend? They invaded India, and left Mr. Nehru a broken man.

It is suggested that with diplomatic recognition we might get more information about conditions in Red China. But we have been getting plenty of information by a variety of means, especially from the thousands of escapees each year. Red China has not allowed any newspaper correspondent of any nationality to travel freely in that land unless it had reason to be-



lieve in advance that he was generally sympathetic. Our trouble is not lack of information but erosion of our steadfastness, our patience, our will—as Mao boasted would be the case.

In contrast, there is no uncertainty as to the losses that would result from the suggested weakening of American policy. Here are some:

It would pull the rug out from under our loyal allies on Taiwan. The Chinese are a realistic, even fatalistic, people. With no hope for reunion in freedom with their brethren on the China mainland, they would have little or no choice but to prepare for the inevitable. Americans who advocate admitting Red China and then add glibly, "Of course we would support the defense of Taiwan," may be salving their own consciences but I think no Asians will be deceived. Twelve million Chinese could hardly maintain indefinitely the will or the capacity to resist 700 million, with the world organization for peace itself rejecting the twelve million and accepting the 700 million!

With weakening or loss of Taiwan our Pacific island chain of defenses would be breached. It is doubtful that the Philippines could long resist Communist pressures and blandishments. Filipinos remember that it was from Taiwan that their country was invaded by the Japanese. It would take vast intervention with American forces to save that new nation for which we certainly have a special responsibility in the Pacific. I have not found any responsible Filipino leaders who favor recognition of Communist China.

The fifteen million or so Chinese living in Southeast Asia occupy key positions of power and influence in Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines. The governments of those countries could not refuse to recognize Communist China once we did. That would mean every

Chinese embassy and consulate in Southeast Asia, and in the world for that matter, would become a protected center of Communist espionage, propaganda, sabotage and subversion of the host government—as recently exposed in Indonesia and Ghana. Through these "embassies and consulates" the Chinese minorities would be under direct and almost irresistible pressure to support the aggressive policies of the Mao regime.

The stability of the strategic countries of Southeast Asia would inevitably be weakened. Can anyone reasonably expect the governments of these smaller and weaker countries to be stronger and firmer *vis-à-vis* Red China than the great United States is?

If the United States were to show that it is not a dependable ally in Asia, our allies elsewhere, including those in Europe, would know they could not count on us either. What would happen to the whole system of collective security we have been building at such cost and effort and which is absolutely indispensable to our own survival as a free nation? Why should any country anywhere stand by us if it is not sure we will stand by it?

It would tell the neutrals and "un-committed" nations that they were right all along and that they might as well give in to the winning side at once.

Perhaps worst of all, it would tell the 700 million people on the China mainland that we are accepting their subjugation, that we think there is more hope for peace for ourselves in deals with their oppressors than in standing steadfastly with them, the oppressed.

During the war and postwar years the United States relaxed under the skilfully built-up illusions that the Soviet Union was a "peace-loving democracy," eager and willing to cooperate to build a world of order and peace, and that the Chinese Commu-

nists were just agrarian reformers. Perhaps our best hope of getting out of our present predicament and peril without a nuclear holocaust lies in the urge-to-be-free that lives in the hearts of a billion human beings behind the Communist curtains. Unless these people are able from within to force their Communist regimes to change and eventually abandon Communist world objectives, there is little hope of our avoiding an ultimate all-out clash. Is it intelligent or realistic to adopt a foreign policy that can cause those millions behind the Curtains to abandon hope? If the strong accept the Communist overlords, how long can the weak continue to resist them?

What would be the gains from resumption of trade relations? The Communists themselves have made clear on numerous occasions that their unwavering purposes are:

First, to get military and industrial equipment and supplies which they cannot yet obtain within the Communist bloc—not in order that they can trade more with us in the future, but so they can become self-sufficient and not need to trade with us at all.

Second, to take advantage of a favorable trade situation wherever there is one that they cannot match even by exploitation of their own people and of their satellites.

Third, to induce countries to become more and more dependent on trade with the Soviet bloc, and therefore more and more at its mercy. This applies particularly to Germany and Japan.

Fourth, to divide the free world powers.

Communist Trade Monopolies

All trade is conducted by Communist state organizations and monopolies that have as their single objective the strengthening of the State. They cannot trade under the accepted rules of the free world without ceasing to be Communist. They cannot cease to be Communist without their movement collapsing. Trade is as much a weapon of their expansionism as are missiles. It is to be expanded or contracted, to be directed here or shifted there, as those at the top determine to be advantageous in promoting the Communist world revolution.

Where trade between Communist China and other countries exists, it is

only on sufferance of the Communist government and will be extinguished when it has served its purpose. This has never been denied by the Chinese Communist leaders. On the contrary, they have avowed on numerous occasions that complete nationalization of industries and trade and collectivization of agriculture has to come, but in stages—which means just as fast as they feel themselves strong enough to impose it. Would it be in our interest, economic or otherwise, to help them do it faster?

The Head-in-Sand Line

What would be the result of admitting Communist China to the United Nations?

Admission would represent for Red China the greatest possible diplomatic victory. It would give the Mao regime the stamp of legitimacy and add immeasurably to its prestige and power all over the world. Why has every Communist government, party, and front in the world worked tirelessly for fifteen years for Red China's admission if that would be bad for Communism and good for us?

Some say, "But Communist China is a fact. We must be realistic. We cannot hide our heads in the sand and ignore it or pretend it is not there." But that is not a description of our policy. On the contrary, it is just because we recognize that Red China is indeed a fact, and such a powerful and dangerous fact, that intelligent concern for our own and the world's future requires its exclusion from the United Nations until it is willing to meet the qualifications for membership. To admit it prior to that time would only make it more powerful and more dangerous.

The Communist regime in China avowedly is dedicated to the isolation and destruction of the United States. Should America help it to a better position from which to work for that objective?

It is an utter non-sequitur to say that because "Red China is there" it ought to be admitted to the UN. There are gangsters in some of our cities. We do not argue that therefore the city councils, courts and police force should take the gangsters in. Rather we demand that lawless elements be kept out of the forces responsible for maintaining law and

order, or "peace and security"—which the UN Charter states is the purpose for which the organization was established.

To keep Red China isolated and weaker than it would otherwise be is not denying or ignoring its existence; it is the realistic way to deal with its existence.

It is said that the United Nations ought to be a universal organization with all existing governments in it. But the Charter makes perfectly clear that the UN was never intended to be a universal organization. That concept was discussed at San Francisco—and rejected. Why would the Charter have Article 6 providing for expelling "a member which has consistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter," if the organization was supposed to be universal?

So it is grossly untrue that the United States is stubbornly, blindly, arbitrarily keeping Communist China out of the United Nations, as is sometimes claimed. Red China is stubbornly keeping itself out. It simply refuses to qualify. I don't know any university that will admit a student without his meeting its entrance requirements—even if he has a gun.

It is said that if the United Nations is not to admit Communist China, then it ought to expel the Soviet Union. This is a good logical argument, but it is a useless one. The Soviet Union can veto its own expulsion.

Never Trouble Trouble

The fact that there are already some bad actors in the UN is all the more reason why we should not, knowingly, bring any more in.

It is suggested that if we recognize Communist China and admit it to the United Nations, it might improve the functioning of that and related international organizations. There is far more evidence that it would hamper their functioning. The only time the United Nations has been able to operate as it was intended to on a matter as serious as aggression was in 1950 when the Soviet Union was absenting itself from the Security Council in an effort to pressure the United Nations into admission of Red China—and thus was unable to veto UN action against the Com-

munist aggression in Korea. Moscow is not likely to make the mistake of being absent again.

It is clear that Communist governments do not join the United Nations with the same purpose in mind as we and other governments do, namely, to help make it an effective instrument for resolving disputes. Obviously the Soviet Union joined in order to make sure the UN does *not* work effectively. It has a world organization of its own, the Communist Party, with organized, disciplined, efficient units in every country. The Communists intend to win for their world organization. What could be more advantageous than to have seats in the other world organization also, particularly in the Security Council, where perfectly legally under the Charter, they can keep the rival organization crippled and ineffective whenever they wish to? Almost all of the more than 100 Soviet vetoes have been against measures that were favored by the overwhelming majority of UN members and were in the direction of peace.

It is not necessary to have Red China in the UN in order to negotiate with her, on this or any other matter. We have had over 130 negotiations with it in the last eleven years—almost one a month—and more than any other non-Communist government has had.

Then there is the old diversionary argument. "What about Chiang Kai-

shek?" Well, what about him? History will decide his proper place and I predict it will be a high one. But our policy is not and has not been based on Chiang; if he were gone tomorrow, America's interests would be precisely the same. We are trying to help free peoples remain free; therefore, it is to our interest to support all peoples who will make determined efforts in that direction. The Free Chinese on Taiwan certainly are making such efforts—and succeeding. They are ahead of every other country in Asia except Japan. We were able to stop our economic assistance to Free China last July.

So if one examines the results of the proposed changes in American policy toward China, it is apparent that the benefits would be minimal, if any. The dangers to the countries still free in Asia, to the United Nations itself, and to our own security and peace, would be certain and serious indeed. On the other hand, the policy of keeping Red China contained and isolated has proved successful in promoting the vital security interests of the United States.

Men have always found ways of bringing down tyrants—and the Chinese will bring down theirs—if only we are not beguiled into throwing the ball game away in the last quarter by failing to stand fast—"five minutes longer." We are called upon by history to prove that free citizens have greater fortitude, stronger

nerves and steadier patience and faith than do tyrants—faith in man and faith in God.

In summary, seating of Red China in the United Nations would be *illegal*. It would require violation of the organization's Charter.

It would be *immoral*. It would almost certainly mean removal of a member that abides by the Charter to seat a non-member that brazenly refuses to abide by the Charter. It would abandon 700 million people to Communist subjugation. It would properly be regarded as an attempt to buy peace for ourselves by sacrificing our principles and other peoples' freedom.

And it would *bring no practical benefits*. On the contrary, there would be certain and disastrous losses—with our allies; with the neutrals; with the peoples in Asia and everywhere else who desire to retain their freedom; and with the long-suffering millions now under Communist rule who yearn to regain their freedom. Do not break the hearts of the oppressed and their continued will to resist from within by accepting their oppressors.

Until someone can suggest policies that offer better prospects of success, based on something more substantial than speculation, wishful thinking or just hope, I can see no sound, sensible, or logical reason to change present policies and every reason to continue them, always being flexible in our tactics as required by developments as they come along.

Communist China, Vietnam and United States Policy

THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT has to be seen within the framework of Communism, as a power struggle within the Communist world, and not as an expression of national interests by competing states of an international order of the past.

In discussing today the problems our own policy faces with regard to Communist China, in Vietnam and in Asia in general, I believe it to be of foremost importance that we accept the fact that our opponent, or rather our opponents, are not national states

or traditional powers with traditional ambitions, but components of that Communist movement that is out to conquer the world by whatever means and to transform it in its image. I believe that the most fatal mistake that we can make is to assume that Communism is dead, that a Communist ideology is dead, and that we deal with powers which pursue traditional national interests and have to be dealt with on that basis. Lately it has often been argued that the behavior of the Communist Chinese

leadership can be explained, at least in part, in terms of the imperial Chinese tradition of past centuries; that if we only could understand this tradition and help to break down the barriers that have kept its present representatives from understanding the world, we would then be able to deal with them on rational terms, that is, terms that are rational within our concept of rationality.

I believe nothing could be further from the truth. There could be no greater contrast, ethically and intel-

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lectually, let alone politically, than that between the emperors of Confucian China of old and the Communist Party's Marxist-Leninist China of today. The two are not even historically related. Between the period of the rule of the emperors of old and that of the Communists of today, China was under the National Government which accepted the Western concept of the nation-state. When the Communists took over in 1949 they did not abolish a Confucian imperial order but the law courts, the codes, the educational system, the Western economy and the Western thought that had been the basis of a Nationalist China that was well on the way to taking its place in the world until the Japanese attack in World War II, and the civil war that followed, destroyed it.

Communizing China

The Communists, after their conquest of power, had two major purposes: to communize China internally and to contribute to the world Communist revolution externally. It is the latter purpose which poses the problems we are facing today in Asia. Any attempt to ignore this Communist purpose is done at our risk. It is simply unrealistic to assume that by gestures or offers, by trade or discussions we will sway the Communists to accept our world of live and let live. They are realists, of course, who will not go into ventures they regard as hopeless. They will move when they regard the time and the situation as opportune; and they will bide their time when, in their terms, the revolutionary wave has subsided. But we have to understand that their logic is not our logic. When we negotiate, we have to remember that their purpose is not ours. And until the Communist purpose of world domination has changed, all that can be arranged is at best a truce.

The hope has been expressed that what is sometimes called the "out-moded doctrine of Marxism-Leninism" is losing its grip on Communist leadership, or that at least the next generation of leaders will no longer believe in world revolution. This can only be regarded as wishful thinking. There is no evidence whatsoever that the main tenets of the gospel itself have been affected in Communist

thinking by this or the younger generation, whatever shifting strategy may recommend itself to them at the time.

But, of course, the strategies have been shifting. Karl Marx's original predictions of the increasing misery of the industrial proletariat have been completely disproved by developments in the industrial countries, and then the Bolshevik revolution occurred in what was at best a marginal area of industrialization. The hopes which its leader, Lenin, placed on a Communist revolution in Germany in 1919, 1920 and 1922, proved false. It was Lenin who then shifted to strategy number two in the Communist grand plan for world conquest. His theory of Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism permitted the use for Communist purposes of revolutionary tensions in what we call today the developing countries of the world. The strategy for Communist conquest in China and today in Vietnam and elsewhere, was Lenin's. It is the strategy of what the Communists call "wars of national liberation." It feeds on two elements. One is agrarian discontent or what is called the agrarian revolution in these predominantly agricultural countries. The other is the emerging nationalism of a small, Western-educated elite, regarded by the Communists as bourgeois-capitalist or nationalist-capitalist, but "anti-imperialist." The use of peasant discontent and of nationalist aspirations for Communist purposes must, however, not lead us astray. Mao Tse-tung, who followed this Leninist-Stalinist policy, was not an agrarian reformer nor was he a heretic. And Ho Chi Minh and the Vietcong today are Communists and not nationalists with Communist trimmings.

The two strategies of proletarian revolution and of national liberation movements or wars of liberation are by no means irreconcilable. But the matter of coordinating them may pose problems. And the question of emphasis today, where there are two headquarters in the overall Communist movement, has become a part of the expression of the conflict for power. Communist advance in the industrial world today is not possible through proletarian uprisings as once conceived after World War I, nor did the Communists prove able to

exploit their participation in the resistance movements during World War II in France and Italy for eventual take-over. And since there is now a universal fear of hydrogen war, blustering threat of same, as once used by a Soviet, has been excluded since it became clear that the United States would stand for Berlin or any part of Europe. So the strategy has shifted to what is called "peaceful coexistence." In Khrushchev's words:

Peaceful coexistence does not imply conciliation between socialist and bourgeois ideologies . . . The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems presupposes an unrelenting ideological, political, and economic struggle of the working people inside the countries of the capitalist system, including armed struggle when they find that necessary [sic!] and the steady advance of the national liberation movement among the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

'Peaceful Coexistence'

Their "peaceful co-existence" does not mean the end of confrontation with Communism, but it is confrontation in an area where our superiority—once we understand the threat—should not make us fear the battle, so much better to be fought in the intellectual rather than in the military field.

But it is different with the wars of liberation. This type of warfare, focused today in Vietnam, is the strategy that the Soviets have as much approved as the Chinese. If they are somewhat reluctant to go all out for it as the Chinese Communists do, it is in order not to compromise the peaceful co-existence strategy for which they want to be known. In my view, Ho Chi Minh has not only received Soviet support from the beginning, but will be backed as long as the Soviets believe that this particular national liberation war looks favorable. The Chinese Communists, however, have gone all out for this strategy. Its priority in today's Communist advance was openly stated by the Indonesian Communist leader D. N. Aidit, who lost his life recently in the Communist coup in Indonesia. It has become most memorably proclaimed in the often-quoted statement of the Chinese Communist military leader Lin Biao, who compared the

national liberation wars in the developing countries to the strategy once used in China by the encirclement of the cities through Communist control of the rural areas in preparation for eventual take-over of the whole country. In the same way the rural areas of the world—the countries of Asia, Africa, and South America—are to be taken over first by the encirclement of the industrial nations now regarded as the cities of the world. The most important sentence is perhaps the one in which Lin Piao compared the effectiveness of the two strategies:

Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously.

It is this Communist advance that we are facing today. Should it succeed in Vietnam it will continue elsewhere; in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa and South America. That, at least, is the Communist intent. But things have not been going well for the Chinese Communists both in Asia and in Africa, and the Chinese setbacks have, in my view, something to do with the proof of our willingness to resist in Vietnam.

Since we are facing a Communist strategy and not Chinese nationalist imperialism, or for that matter, Soviet nationalist advance, such Communist insurgencies as in Vietnam have to be locally based. But a local insurgency is only possible as a part of the Communist conspiracy, using the organizational and ideological framework that is uniform for all Communism. On this basis the local Communists receive not only political support from the movement but also outside aid in the form of equipment, financing, military expertise and leadership and, where feasible, direct military support. Where they were left alone as in Malaya or in the Philippines, such Communist insurgencies could be defeated. The problem today is to defeat such an insurgency in Vietnam where it is receiving that outside support.

We have today begun to understand that this insurgency is not simply military action which requires a military answer. One of its most

important ingredients and one that is not contained in Mao Tse-tung's homilies on guerrilla warfare is the use of terror. This terror is not the use of atrocities for atrocity's sake or as some have held, "the killing of some unpopular landlords or administrators." It is rather the systematic elimination of the leadership of the communities to be taken over by the Communists through assassinations of the most educated and most respected local leaders: the local school teacher, the village head, the monk, and the families of these people. It is also directed against all those who refuse to cooperate, who refuse to provide intelligence and service. Its aim is not only to intimidate the communities, to show on which side one can survive, it is also directed at depriving the communities of their leadership so that the Communist cadres can take the place of those who have been killed.

To fight this strategy requires more than simple military action. What is necessary, of course, is the ability to protect the population from this threat. Before this protection can be guaranteed, all the destruction of the guerrilla forces is at best a temporary reprieve. But there is much more at issue.

The problem of the developing countries of Asia is the problem of a vast transformation. A revolutionary transformation indeed, which will take place and is taking place in these countries under whatever auspices. Under the impact of the modern world, its ideas and its economics, the traditional agrarian

societies of this world of old agrarian civilizations are disintegrating. The Western-educated small elites are the first to have been affected by Western ideas, Western education and Western forms of life. But the gap has widened between these Westernizing cities and the rural areas, mostly neglected and often contemptuously disregarded or exploited by the newly emerging elites. It is this gap that the Communists have been exploiting. What is needed, regardless of the Communist threat, is the re-integration of the societies and nations of the world of developing states, a revolution within their old tradition based on their own beliefs and ideas. This revolution does not consist simply of technical change. Modern hygiene, health measures, the fight against malaria, hospitals, schools, new agrarian methods, are only technical forms of changes. What matters is the cultural framework in which this transformation takes place, and "cultural" in this sense is more than the outward manifestations of a material world. It has been said that Communism is strong because of its political organization. And the fight against Communism is truly an organizational battle. But the Communist organization is based on Communist ideology and Communist purposes. If there were no ideology there would be no Communist Party and no Communist threat. The problem of the countries of the developing world is to integrate revolutionary changes into their cultural tradition. In the solution to this problem we can and should assist. To do so we need an understanding of the beliefs and ideas of the great Asian cultural traditions in order to comprehend the setting in which these changes will take place. A true nationalism in these countries—not the Communist exploitation of it—must be founded on these cultural traditions.

We have to realize, for instance, that democratic elections which we rightly regard as the free expression of a people's will require a social framework that does not necessarily exist in the countries concerned. Without a viable organization in the communities there is a serious problem of political organization. Political parties in our sense are a new development and need time and the foundation upon which to grow.



I believe our government's policy has today recognized the need of "capturing the revolution." The economic, social and political reforms initiated in South Vietnam, the special teams that are to compete with the National Liberation Front—our real enemy—lead us in the right direction.

I would regard it as a deadly mistake to give administrative recognition in negotiations—let alone beforehand—to the very foe who is aiming to destroy the society we are trying to build. Truly free elections, once they can be held, need not be feared.

But Vietnam is not an isolated

issue. It is only the focal point in what I would regard as the present main front in the battle between Communist totalitarian aspirations and the support of our kind of revolution, in a world that we want to keep free for the pluralism of cultures and traditions, in Asia as well as elsewhere.

United States Relations with Communist China

THE UNITED STATES is better informed about Communist China today than is any other country in the Free World. Our government provides daily translations of the mainland press and periodicals for general use, it translates for its own purposes a great variety of specialized Chinese printed material, some of which it puts at the disposal of scholars. There are about a dozen major universities with libraries and staff sufficient to provide the student with advanced graduate training on China. Courses in the Chinese language can be taken at hundreds of universities and colleges. The financial support provided by private foundations and by the National Defense Education Act has been instrumental in giving us hundreds of scholars well trained in the Chinese language and one or more of the disciplines. Our library holdings on Communist China are very extensive, and we publish more studies on Communist China than all other non-Communist countries put together. The combined resources of England, France, and Germany, both human and material, are small indeed when compared with those of the United States.

The American scholar, it has been pointed out, cannot go to Communist China and therefore loses a valuable asset. This is true; the Communists will not allow him in. There is no substitute for being in the land, but in some cases there is not a great advantage. Most of the correspondents of other countries who have resided in Peking are quite frank about the difficulties and frustrations facing the journalistic profession in that country. Hong Kong is a far more valu-

able source of information about Communist China than is Peking.

The main difficulty in getting information about China stems not from the fact that Americans are not allowed to visit there, but from the extraordinary efforts made by the Communist regime to prevent both its own people and other peoples from knowing those things it wishes to conceal. I would not be surprised if Peking found our economic studies to be more accurate than their own. I wish to mention this point about information because there are those who feel that we would be much better informed if we recognized Communist China and could send our scholars and journalists to that country. Unless there were a radical change in the attitude of the Communist regime the evidence does not suggest that access to the mainland, considering the price we would have to pay, would make that much difference.

The Soviet 'Model'

I am not suggesting that we have sufficient information about Communist China, merely that we have as much if not more than anyone else. In the academic profession, while we all read the same materials, we do not arrive at the same conclusions. I find myself in general agreement with the descriptive material presented in this testimony—that Communist China's domestic problems are serious and exacting, her military as well as economic resources are not those of a great power, her adventurous excursions in foreign policy have been costly and discouraging,

and that she is not getting along very well with the Soviet Union in either party or state relations. But I cannot follow some of the policy recommendations of my colleagues because I think that they are based on debatable premises, and it is the premises that are crucial.

Much is made of the assumption that we have stabilized our relations with the Soviet Union and that the same can be done with Communist China. The Soviet model is so taken for granted that it is never clearly defined. It is asserted that we now have a stable and tolerable relationship with the Soviet Union and that this has come about through an evolutionary process marked by changes within the Communist system. There certainly have been considerable changes and there is a sort of stability. But in my view the present stability is brittle in the extreme and is based mainly on the superior military power of the United States and its allies and on a common interest in avoiding one kind of war, nuclear conflict between the U.S. and the USSR. Moscow still favors subversion and "just" wars of national liberation. The balance can change because it does not rest merely on a counting of nuclear bombs. There are other factors in the balance such as the state of the economy, the state of our alliances, the quality of our leadership. As we showed at the time of the Cuban crisis, a shift in the nuclear balance of power can be prevented by the use of conventional weapons. Nor can we fail to note that the present stability includes a war with the Soviet Union by proxy in Vietnam, and Soviet cooperation with

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Cuba in an effort to subvert Latin America, whose governments are so alarmed by Cuban activities that many have broken off diplomatic relations with both Moscow and Havana.

Two sets of reasons are usually given for the new Soviet behavior. There are those who think that the stability of our relations with the Soviet Union is due to changes in the mode of production which have been reflected in changes in the ideological superstructure. They would phrase it differently but it is still vulgar Marxism. As the Communists put on fat, according to this theory, they acquire a democratic dislike for muscle. Such scholarly investigation as we have of this subject, to say nothing of the record, suggests that the question of whether or not there have been basic changes in the political objectives of the Soviet Union is still open to serious question. Then there are those who think that present Soviet behavior arises from the fact that we followed a policy of containment combined with recognition of the Soviet Union and its membership in the UN. The same formula applied to China should produce the same results. It is proposed to continue the containment, offer recognition, and cease to block the way into the UN. This is a doubtful analogy on which to base action. Nor is there any real parallel between Communist China and the USSR, nor any surety that the same techniques will bring the same results. But the USSR could be used as an interesting case study of what happens when a Communist nation is treated with generosity and good will (as during World War II) and allowed to operate within an organization for the maintenance of peace.

In my view it is safer to proceed on the premise that there is no world community, as the phrase goes, into which we can induce the Chinese to enter. Unfortunately we live in a world in which there are at least two violently opposed concepts of international relations, of political and social organizations, and of world order. The dialogue between them is still minimal. Everything we do with Communist China has to be seen in this context. Whatever the relations between Peking and Moscow, as far as the world community is concerned,

they share the same outlook. The problem then is how to define our relations with the Chinese section of the Communist world. It is clearly necessary, in this dangerous world, to do this.

Further to clarify my premises, I do not think, for example, that the evidence supports the fashionable view that the Communist world is falling apart and that Communist states have the same sort of foreign policy objectives as any other nation state or can be expected to pursue them in the same manner. The social and political content of nationalism is determined by the institutional power configuration and this is what is new and lasting about Communism. It is because it is the nature of power that determines foreign policy—to put the matter very briefly—that I feel there is little hope of any changes in Chinese Communist policies that are not forced on her. It is necessary to men-



tion this because there is a great reluctance on the part of China specialists, perhaps because they love the Chinese so much, to admit that the Chinese Communists are really Communists.

The agrarian reformers of the forties are now the aging paranoids of the sixties, to be handled, it would seem, by group therapy. If they were really nationalists masquerading as Communists, then Chinese tradition as well as the humiliations of nineteenth-century imperialism would be relevant to their mood, but in my view the Communists represent a complete break with the past. Their world view is not conditioned by the

imperial past although they are willing to exploit it. A comparison with some real nationalists will point up the differences. It was the National government that won the ending of imperial privileges in 1942 and lost the chance of building up a modern China largely as a result of the Japanese invasion. We might have difficulties with them if they were in power on the mainland, but I doubt they would be sponsoring the Vietcong or fomenting trouble in the rest of the world. There is nothing about Chinese nationalism that calls for the hate campaign of the Chinese Communists against the United States, for the militarization of a quarter of the people of the earth, for the racial invective that pervades so much of their propaganda, even in Hong Kong, or for the support of revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America as spelled out in the Central Committee decisions of 1963 and reaffirmed in the Lin Piao statement. A true nationalism would call for attention to domestic problems and would certainly avoid a quarrel with a powerful neighbor.

The most recent statement of Chinese Communist political goals, the Lin Piao position paper of September 1965, is variously interpreted. The Aesopian dialogue of the Communist world is not always easy to follow and this effort was clearly designed to achieve several purposes at the same time. In my view it should be taken seriously as a general indication of the objectives and strategy of the Peking wing of the movement. It is not impossible that this strategy could be made to work. It is based on the assumption that the revolution is not going to occur in the great industrial states, that the Achilles heel of the West is the Third World, that the promotion of wars of national liberation in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia will distract and waste the energies of the Western powers, confuse their peoples, and demoralize their leaders.

Some believe that Communist China is too weak to carry out such a grandiose strategy, that in fact she is now reeling from shattering defeat. When the Soviets came to the assistance of the Chinese Nationalists in 1923 they were not a strong power, but they almost succeeded in taking over the Nationalist movement at a

cost of 1,000 advisers and about \$3 million. The Chinese Communists were not very strong when they provided the Vietminh with the heavy weapons that made possible the conquest of Dien-Bien-Phu, nor when they intervened in North Korea, nor when they promoted a Communist attempt to take over Malaya in 1948. May I also suggest that the Chinese Communists were involved in the attempted *coup d'état* in Indonesia last October and that it came very close to succeeding? If it had succeeded it would have been followed by an intensification of the war against Malaysia; Thailand would have been caught in a pincer, and our position in Vietnam would have become very precarious.

The main question that the leaders and peoples of Southeast Asia are asking is, who is going to win? Under

these conditions it would have seemed that the Chinese brand of Communism was in the ascendancy; Lin Piao's statement would have looked like a curtain-raiser rather than noisy bragging or defensive defiance. China is obviously in no position to seek a head-on collision with the United States and is most unlikely to give us the opportunity to declare war on her, but she is quite capable of fostering wars of national liberation wherever opportunities are provided.

It is said that we should not isolate Peking. It is Peking that is trying to isolate us. Communist China is far from being isolated; she has diplomatic relations of a sort with about forty countries and is trading with many she does not recognize, such as Japan and Canada. She is very much in the international community where it counts; in fact, much too much. The terms she has announced for tak-

ing a seat in the UN are so outrageous that they must have been designed to show her contempt for that organization. Her terms for accepting recognition are humiliating in the extreme, although she would be delighted to have us help her finish off the civil war by reducing or eliminating the international status of the Nationalist government. If the Chinese Communists really want to live in peace with the world they are quite capable of making a move in that direction.

In the meantime, it should not be beyond the wit of man to devise ways and means of putting the burden of proof, as far as peaceful intentions are concerned, on the Peking regime, so long as nothing is done to damage American credit in Asia and her willingness to stand by her friends and her principles.

Conclusion: Red China's Reaction

The official Peking reaction to the Fulbright hearings was that they were in effect a venture in futility since the new proposals made by the members of the Red China Lobby were, nothing more than another approach by American Imperialists to frustrating the Chinese revolution. An article in the influential People's Daily of April 9, 1966, carries this commentary, in part:

"The so-called China question has become the focus of attention in the U.S. in the past two months. U.S. scholars and idea men in the service of the ruling classes and responsible officials have put forth their views in a great debate on China policy. . . .

"In reality, the 'containment without isolation' formula is a manifestation of the U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionary dual tactics on China policy. In short, this means on the one hand continued aggression against and encirclement of China, containment and isolation of China, while on the other, indulging in the vain hope to bring about 'peaceful evolution' in China so that revolutionary China will degenerate gradually.

"It can be seen that the present de-

bate reflects not the 'powerfulness' of the U.S. but its weakness and defeat and its helplessness and dilemma in face of the great Chinese people. Some influential Americans too criticized the U.S. China policy as 'in a fundamental sense unsuccessful' and 'long since out of date.' They called for a 'fundamental review of our China policy.' It is against such a background that the Johnson Administration wants to make use of the debate as a smokescreen to sidetrack the strong dissatisfaction at home and abroad with the U.S. anti-China policy and to cover up the continuance of the policy of hostility and aggression against China.

"The debate shows that the difference between these idea men is about what counter-revolutionary method should be adopted. They are at one in persisting in the policy of hostility and aggression towards China. That is why none of them could put forth a feasible formula. After repeated deliberations and consideration, the experts ended in agreeing to the continuation and stepping up of the 'containment' policy.

"Helpless and hopelessly, Harvard

Professor John K. Fairbank, the so-called veteran 'Chiang specialist,' and others, again put forward the long discredited 'two-Chinas' formula. Some others proposed that 'unconditional discussions' be held and 'diplomatic relations' established with China before the future of Taiwan is discussed. But even Dean Rusk himself had to admit that as far as the 'two Chinas' proposal was concerned, 'it was useless' because China had rejected it.

"U.S. imperialism's persistent hostility towards the Chinese people is determined by its reactionary and aggressive nature. There is nothing strange about it. What is strange is that U.S. imperialism even hopes to find a 'way out' of the blind alley of its China policy. The great debate in the United States over Washington's China policy shows once again that it is mere illusion.

"Look, how many politicians, 'scholars' and 'specialists' took part in these discussions. But nothing fruitful has come out of them. Nor will there be any result if more discussions are held. Gentlemen in Washington, there is nothing you can do about it!"

About Pâtés

NIKA STANDEN HAZELTON

There seems to be no end to the ever increasing number of canned, frozen, dehydrated, pre-cooked and other convenience foods. But what gets me is that this stuff, which we buy to save time and effort, though seldom money, now comes with a flood of suggestions on how to use it with scores of other ingredients. These have little to do with convenience. All those dehydrated-soup cocktail dips, canned-soup gourmet casseroles, instant-potato soufflés and tarted-up desserts made from cake mixes, canned fruit, gelatin and artificial cream fill me with astonishment, apathy and wrath. Astonishment that the manufacturers are naive enough to admit that their products have to be gussied up to be palatable, apathy at the caliber of the suggestions concocted by desperate home economists and food editors, and wrath at the amount of patience, skill, expense and cooking enthusiasm needed to carry out the suggestions. These, I think, would be far better applied to making good fresh food.

However, some convenience foods are really convenient, and it is wise to have them in one's cupboard as substitutes for a homemade dish. To make a good impression, it is equally wise not to serve them always straight out of the container. I am thinking of the canned pâtés which take time to make from scratch, and which are most handy when something a little fancy is needed at very short notice.

Pâté means, simply, paste, and it may be made from anything that can be ground up and remain good to eat. The best and most expensive pâtés are imported from France and made from pure goose liver, flavored with truffles (about \$12 for a five-ounce can). They are indeed heavenly eating. Then the pâtés go down in class with additives of pork, goose and pork fats, eggs, flour, onions, spirits, and spices. Many of them have no goose liver in their makings at all, but pork and other meats. These cost from around \$1.69 for a 4½-ounce can of pork, pork liver, eggs, wine,

onions, flour, salt and spices, to 29 cents for 4¾ ounces of pork liver, soup stock, pork, pork fat, wheat germ, french-fried onions, dried yeast, salt and spices. From reading the labels, we know what the pâtés contain (the law compels their makers to say so). But we don't know the proportion of the various ingredients, and in pâtés, you pay for what you get. But even the humbler ones are useful and nice eating, especially when dolled up.

I would not think of trifling with a pure goose liver-cum-truffles pâté which should be spread on a good-quality, bland cracker that won't overwhelm its delicate flavor. But whenever the makers of pâtés put other things in their wares, we can take them further, to great advantage. A little brandy, port, or dry Madeira beaten into a cheap pâté will do wonders for it, and so can a very little extremely finely chopped shallot or onion, and/or a touch of French mustard. All these have to be applied with a delicate hand, and it is well to taste while doctoring, since too much makes a pâté inedible. Also, a major and a lesser pâté can be mixed together to make the major one go farther.

The obvious use for a pâté is to spread it on toast or crackers. But as a true convenience food, it can also be used to add taste and tone to everyday food. For a nice little luncheon or supper dish, spread a doctored-up, inexpensive pâté over the bottom of an individual buttered

baking dish, break an egg or two on it, season the egg with salt and pepper, and top the whole with a couple of tablespoonfuls of heavy cream. Bake the whole thing in a moderate oven until the egg is set.

A flavored pâté makes an excellent stuffing for hard-cooked eggs; you'll need about a four-ounce can for every six egg yolks. Mash the two together and stuff the mixture back into the whites. A few capers and a tiny sprig of parsley on top of the stuffing will add taste and looks. Pâté also improves veal scaloppine, usually bland to boredom. Spread a well-seasoned pâté between two thin slices of veal. Dip the meat sandwich into beaten egg and bread crumbs and sauté it in hot butter about five minutes on each side, though the length of the cooking time depends on the thickness of the meat slices. Finally, a few tablespoonfuls of pâté will make a standard poultry stuffing more interesting.

A few words about liver paste terminology. Not to be confused with a pâté is pure goose liver or *foie gras* (natural, that is), the whole liver of the goose which is sometimes seasoned with truffles and canned wrapped in its own pure goose fat. The most delicious way of serving this expensive delight (from about \$3.98 for a 1 1/3-ounce pottery jar to \$34.95 for a 28-ounce can with in-between sizes and prices) is to scrape off the goose fat, heat it and sauté the *foie gras* in toto in it until it is just heated through. And talking of *foie gras* natural and pâtés of *foie gras*, I know that the fate of the force-fed geese from which they come is unbelievably sad. Yet, I and everybody else forget it immediately with the sheer bliss of its taste.

Here are two recipes which I have found useful. One is for a soufflé made with canned pâté, the other for a from-scratch pâté for the enterprising.

Soufflé au Foie Gras

The quantities are for two, but they may be doubled. If more is wanted, it is best to make several soufflés.

- 2 tablespoons butter
- 3 tablespoons flour
- 1 cup hot milk
- ½ cup pâté (about 4 ounces)
- 2 eggs, separated
- salt and pepper if necessary
- ⅛ teaspoon nutmeg

(Continued on p. 547)



End-of-Term Report

Is There a Student Conservatism?

JOHN F. LULVES JR.

In his 1961 book, *Revolt on the Campus*, M. Stanton Evans marked the rise of a new conservatism among college students in all parts of the country. A few years later, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein noted in their collection of horror stories (*Danger on the Right*) the somewhat uncomfortable fact that "right-wing students are verbal and articulate, and their publications are scholarly and well-written." The revolt of 1959-64 had steadily engulfed Young Republican college federations; it had caused the emergence and spectacular growth of Young Americans for Freedom; it had, in forceful debate, brought the philosophy and politics of the free society to university and college forums across the country.

And then with incredible speed it all seemed to disappear. It was reported that Barry Goldwater's defeat in 1964 had put an end to the "movement." The campus civil rights, free speech and peace demonstrations of 1965 were heralded as manifestations of a new spirit in the rising generation. Amid the clattering of publicity releases and a haze of wishful reporting, the New Left was born.

The Facts, Ma'm

But campus conservatism was not dead. It was rising from the ashes of '64 even before the end of that academic year. Today the "revolt" continues as before, lacking only the trappings of the image-makers. Its greatest source of potential strength, the consistent rejection of leftist goals and principles by the non-political student majority, is undiminished. A recent survey at the University of Wisconsin (home of the Committee to End the War in Vietnam) revealed that 72 per cent of the students favored American participation in the Vietnam war, while only 16 per cent opposed. Reporting the results of the poll, conducted by the University's Research Laboratory, Dean of Stu-

dents Joseph Kaufman was moved to remark: "The publicity of protest and stereotyping of students as volatile, angry, unhappy creatures is often contradicted by [the] facts."

Blood-for-Vietnam drives have enjoyed continued success. (Indiana University students donated more than 1,000 pints in three days.) So have petition-signing campaigns. From Michigan State University (12,000 signatures) to Kansas State College (2,000), students have gone on record as supporting U.S. resolve in Vietnam.

The Middle West is also demonstrating an increased attraction to conservatism among large numbers of students. As Midwestern Director of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, an educational student-teacher organization with the motto, "To Educate for Liberty," I see daily indications of great progress. In this area alone more than 3,100 students and professors joined ISI during the first semester of the present academic year. Compare this figure to 998 in 1964-65 and 476 in 1963-64. The figure is even more impressive when you consider that no membership drives are conducted. Students "join" ISI only by writing in. (Membership brings a journal, *The Intercollegiate Review*, six times yearly, a semi-annual *Campus Report*, plus reduced-price book offers and other material.) ISI does not advertise save on a minuscule basis. Yet its members, by proselytizing among fellow students and passing on its publications, managed in one semester—in the Middle West alone—to enlist more new people than are claimed for the entire national membership of Students for a Democratic Society, a New Left group taken with utmost seriousness by the *New York Times*. By next month ISI's national membership should reach 30,000.

Of equal importance are the local Conservative Clubs, which mount drives and programs of increasing

interest to the student body. The University of Wisconsin's Conservative Club quadrupled its membership last September, while 150 joined at the University of Texas. At Vanderbilt 1,200 gathered to hear M. Stanton Evans; at Southern Illinois Evans drew 360 as against 200 for a radical-Left spokesman. At Texas 380 heard Russell Kirk; at Malone College in Ohio Ludwig von Mises attracted 350. By the end of the present school year, ISI associates in the Midwest will have sponsored 90 speaking engagements and discussion programs. A semester-long series, with weekly meetings and assigned readings, drew a full complement of students to the Wisconsin Conservative Club to study such topics as "Philosophy of Social Orders," "Economics of Liberty," and "Basics of Freedom." (At the same time, leftist students at Indiana U. were calling for courses on non-violence, poverty, socialism, and "the sexual revolution.")

All Systems Go

The impact of such programming is impressive. At the University of Chicago the Whig Society, formed only last fall, will by June have sponsored at least seven speakers either in public address or private discussion, including Milton Friedman, Colin Clark, David N. Rowe, George Stigler, and Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. Soon after the founding of the Whig Society, Washington University in St. Louis, scene of an abortive attempt to form an ISI club in 1961, recognized its first YAF chapter. (This was a shock to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which reported in amazement: "Right-Wing Unit Organized at Washington U.") So far from withering away to please the pundits, YAF will this summer launch a "YAF Corps" for work in all fifty states. At its Fifth Anniversary dinner in Washington a fortnight ago, YAF was host to more than 1,300 people, with Senators Goldwater and Holland heading the list of distinguished guests.

What is the qualitative effect of all this activity on student conservatism? What is the student conservative like? Three characteristics stand out:

1) The student conservative is on the average younger than his Liberal

counterpart. The conservative activist is seldom a graduate; neither is he a professional student. Most of the conservative students of former years have left the campus. Today's leaders were in high school when their Liberal counterparts were college undergraduates. It is the Leftists, not the conservatives, who are known for their cadres of professional students and "full-time staff" members attached to the universities.

2) The student conservative is, as Forster and Epstein hinted, more scholarly than the Liberal. The half-dozen or so student conservative magazines are intellectually superior to those put out by the Left, and the Right's summer schools and seminars are unmatched academically. In-

deed, Forster and Epstein go on to note that this "talent for the written and spoken word appear(s) to overshadow anything that the more Liberal youth on or off campus can offer. The young Liberals of today do not appear to have produced leaders of stature and energy to do battle with them."

3) The conservative student is interested in principle. In a paper published by the Southern Conservative Union, Loren Van Abbema, a student at Southern Illinois University, states: "The voice from the Left is nearly always a call to action and seldom a plea to adhere to principles. . . . The Liberal's consistent emphasis on immediate action and visible change over serious thought and moral con-

siderations has caused wisdom and prudence to be overruled by expediency."

While the tide of student conservatism is running well this year, it has not eroded the Liberals' position in the academy; *that* remains secure. Student groups at Ohio State and Washington University learned as much recently when scores of professors turned down their invitations to become club advisers. But a young student could say of ISI's Midwestern Summer School last year: "This has probably been the most educational week I've experienced since I began college, and for two reasons—first, because of the superior quality of the lectures; second, because one can talk about the human soul without being laughed out of the room."

"I Got My Grief Through THE NEW YORK TIMES"—Job

*Once upon a time there was a newspaper of international
reputation,
And considered by itself and some others to be Consultant-in-
Waiting to the very Soul of the Nation,
Adviser to States, Counsel to the President,
Such that high officials not only were hesident
About making decisions, heck, let's face it, they didn't even
know what it
Was they thought until they got their hands on the Morning
edit
Orial.
One day the Homily might be on matters senatorial;
Another, in the spirit of letting bygones now be bygone,
Taught the latest Wisdom of Fidel and post-Diem in Saigon;
Or a lessony Lesson,
On Wessin y Wessin.
And always interspersed with these in the manner of
The Canticles,
Was what to do with that little Spanish octopus, Franco and
his aging fascist tanticles.
Mighty, indeed, was The Word,
Hoid
And when it came to instant Harvest the only real question was
which of its sheaf-gatherers was quicker:
Matthews or Wicker?
The only way to decide being to take out a stop-watch and
check on how long it took Herbert to get the Facts On Fidel
or Tom to measure the bona fide weight
Of the 198.*

JOHANNES EFF

Why Are We Striking?

A disgruntled assistant city editor blames both union and management for the current N.Y. city newspaper strike. Here's an insider's view

GEORGE MERLIS

New York is muddling through its fourth newspaper strike since 1962, but this one excites a lot less attention than its predecessors. This is probably because only two newspapers are blacked out and because newspaper strikes, like death, taxes and other inevitable happenings, have become so routine they bore the public.

Three of the four strikes since '62 were called by the New York Newspaper Guild, which represents office and editorial employees. The first was in 1962, a week-long stoppage in the *Daily News*. Then, last September, came the three-week *New York Times* strike, blacking out all the city's papers except the *Post*, which quit the Publishers Association during an earlier strike and resumed publication. The current strike by the Guild is against the newly-merged *World Journal Tribune*, a venture composed of the old *Herald Tribune*, the *World-Telegram and Sun* and the *Journal-American*. Or perhaps the strike is against the three individual papers. Even the Guild seems unsure about that; its pickets march in front of the plants of the three old papers carrying signs proclaiming them to be "On Strike," but failing to name the target of their strike.

The memorable 114-day news blackout occurred in 1962-63, beginning a week after the Guild strike at the *News* was settled, and was a marathon display of strength by the Printers Union.

D-Day for the newspaper merger was April 25. Guild pickets were out in front of the three papers' plants at 4 PM on April 24. A member of the Guild since I came to the *World-Telegram* in 1962 (I am an elected member of the union's Representative Assembly and a member of the *World-Telegram* chapter's Unit Council), I walked the picket line and heard my fellow editorial employees

wondering aloud why they were there.

The Guild's newsmen are angry. They are angry at management, which they feel has treated them shabbily. And they were angry at their union. Those who had received "out" letters knew they hadn't the seniority to get their jobs back even if the Guild won a smashing victory in the strike and they felt the dispute was holding up their severance pay (two weeks' wages for each year of service). Others, especially younger men with "in" letters, felt they were walking the line to support the Guild's demand that they be fired and replaced by older men.

The disillusion of newsmen with their union is nothing new. When Heywood Broun founded the Guild at the *World-Telegram*, he threw its doors open to everybody in the newspaper industry who was not eligible for the specialized AFL craft unions. Quickly, control of the CIO Guild slipped out of the editorial workers' hands as office and commercial employees rushed to join.

Gut Issue: Money

In the week before the strike, Jimmy Breslin described the Guild this way in the *Herald Tribune*: "This is a union of elevator operators and accountants which has been kind enough to allow in it a small group of workers who are called reporters and rewriters and copy editors. These people are only about 30 per cent of the Newspaper Guild and all they do on a newspaper is write what the people read and this is not important at all. They do not fit so well into this Newspaper Guild so nobody really is worrying about them this week."

During the short *Daily News* strike, we newsmen were pretty solidly with the union. It was a strike about the

only "gut issue" that appeals to journalists: money. Automation doesn't scare reporters or writers. Besides, the *News* strike lasted only a week and the other papers continued to publish.

But during the seemingly endless Printers' strike, editorial guildsmen began to get fed up with their union's support of the strikers. Part of their disgust may have been based on the fact that they were receiving \$65 a week in strike benefits while the printers were getting \$85 a week and more. One or two newsmen I know tried to resign from the union and were told they could not.

Journalistic anguish began to peak during the *Times* strike, which was called for obscure, muddled reasons (the Printers, by threatening a strike earlier in the year, had already won for all the unions a \$12.50 weekly raise). I recall meeting a reporter friend during the *Times* strike and hearing him complain, "I can't get over the feeling that we're all out on the street because of a couple of elevator operators at the *Times*. That's some stinking union solidarity attitude I have, huh?" Stinking attitude or not, I visited the *Times* while researching this article and noticed that its elevators are automated. Did we lose the strike?

Management bears its share of the guilt in the *Times* fiasco. There seems to have been no need for the publishers to black out the city because of a strike over highly parochial issues at one newspaper.

After the three-week *Times* strike, we went back to work without Guild contracts at the three to-be-merged papers.

Thomas Murphy, Guild Executive Vice-President, likes to claim credit for not negotiating a contract with the trio, giving the union the freedom to strike in the event of the long-rumored merger. (A contract

would have contained a no-strike clause.) But members of the *World-Telegram* negotiating committee have told me that management was far more reluctant to negotiate than was the Guild. Apparently the publishers thought it was to their advantage, too, to have no contract with the Guild when the merger came. Perhaps they assumed that with no contract they would be free to pick the staff members they wanted without union interference.

The merger was formally announced March 21, nine months after rumors about it first broke into print. The publishers announced they would form a joint company and publish a morning, an afternoon and a Sunday paper. New York would have one fewer afternoon and one fewer Sunday paper as a result. There would be some "dislocations," the publishers said. It turned out that slightly fewer than half the total work force of the three papers would be "dislocated," including more than half the 1,800 guildsmen.

Not a Geriatric Ward

There were some fruitless talks after the announcement, but the new publisher didn't seem too concerned with the Guild's threats until it was too late. The Guild demanded control of firings at the new combination—with all dismissals on a strict seniority basis. Management, claiming it needed young blood, said no. "They don't want a geriatric ward," was the way one newsman put it.

During this frustrating period, the Guild told its members virtually nothing. All our news came from negotiations reports in the *Times*. Some guildsmen suspected collusion between publisher and union. The Guild was demanding a pool of all three papers' employees with the senior men from the pool being retained on the new staff, instead of matching a senior man from each publication to insure the *WJT* would be staffed by one-third *Telegram*, *Journal* and *Trib* men. Such a pool, many of us feared, would favor *Journal* employees who seem to stay on longer than newsmen on either of the other papers.

Many of us felt the Guild's position threatened, instead of protected, our jobs. Some felt the Guild should

demand severance pay for those resigning voluntarily, even if they had the seniority to remain at the *WJT*.

A group of *World-Telegram* reporters, led by science writer Ed Edelson, visited Murphy and tried to talk to him. It was a non-meeting of minds. The newsmen were confronting the non-editorial guildsmen (Murphy is a former *Times* accountant) and they were talking two different languages.

Edelson and his group wanted to know what kind of papers would result from the merger. Murphy didn't seem to care. "We didn't ask him to abandon the seniority demands," Edelson said later. "I think we all believe that after a man has given 25 or 30 years of his life to a newspaper, management owes him something." But Edelson and his friends were concerned about the lack of information coming from the Guild, about the union leadership's unwillingness to call a membership meeting, and they were concerned about management's talk of a single staff for the troika. (Was it merely for payroll purposes, or would reporters be covering stories for both the morning and afternoon organs? Murphy didn't know; all he wanted was a single staff with a personnel pool to further his seniority demands.)

At a *World-Telegram* Unit Council meeting I attended, Murphy admonished us for weakness in our unit. When he was asked about severance for those resigning voluntarily, he said, "That's just what management wants." (Last week he was asking for just that and it is far from what management wants; they are resisting the demand.)

"I'm no dictator," Murphy told us. I asked him why he didn't call a meeting, since he was so democratic, to find out what his membership wanted before there was any more bargaining. He said, "It's not up to me to call a meeting. It's up to the individual units." Petitions went around the *Telegram* newsroom and a week later Murphy called a joint meeting where he was subjected to merciless questioning from Edelson and his group and several *Herald Tribune* men. Then, the Murphy supporters voted the union's "unanimous" support for him.

When 4 P.M. on April 24 came, a handful of *Herald Tribune* newsmen

demonstrated just how unanimous that support was by conducting a brief sit-in in the *Trib* city room to protest the strike.

"You see, the head of the Newspaper Guild, Mr. Murphy, is an ex-bookkeeper," Breslin explained the week before to the minority of his readers who might have been interested in the latest turmoil in New York's newspaper world. "And—Thomas Murphy . . . will not allow the new papers to have separate staffs because then he would have to make out two sets of books to keep their names in."

Still playing it with all the bluff it could muster, management presented Murphy with its revised staff lists—when it was too late to stop the strike. These lists—which some high officers of the new combine were callously calling the "Stay Alive" and "Drop Dead" lists, were based entirely on seniority. In a few instances, persons of exceptional merit were retained (A provision in the old contracts permitted management to bypass seniority in such cases.)

Ins and Outs

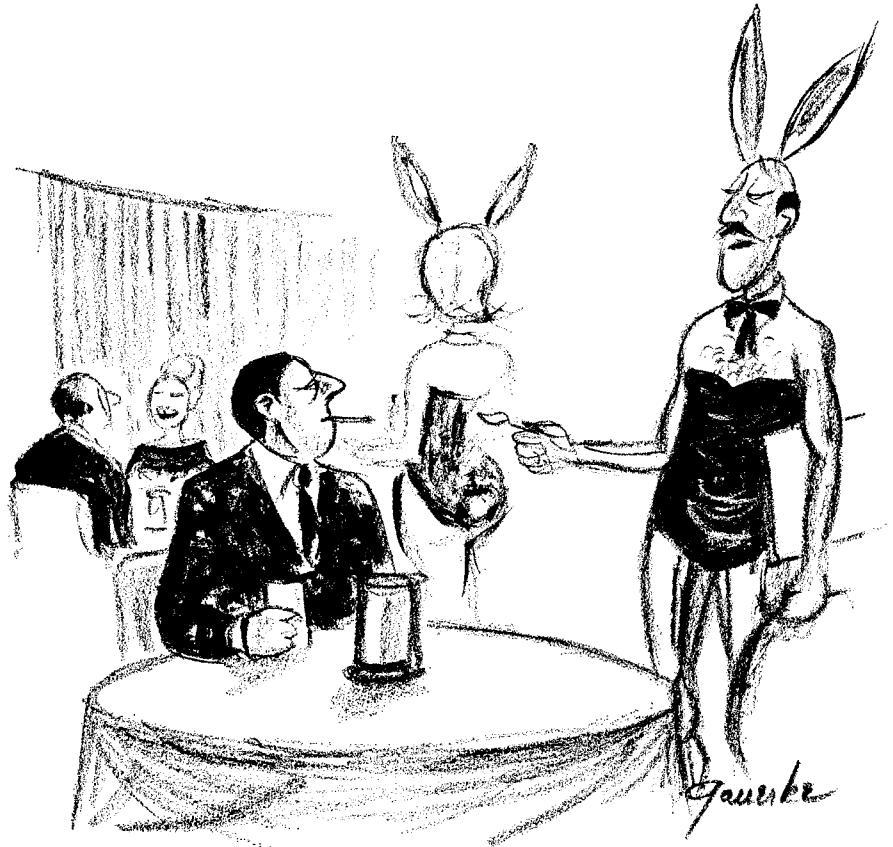
Murphy said the lists were unacceptable. The management letters went out: a terse, simple "in" letter and an involved, misleading "out" letter ("Your employment will be continued by the successor enterprise," read the "out" letter. "We regret to inform you, however, that this employment will be terminated effective on the date of the expiration of the applicable period of advance notice of dismissal specified in the contract . . ."). "I think I'm out," a re-writerman friend told me over the telephone, "but I can't be sure. I guess I'll have to hire a lawyer to read this damn thing to me."

"Those letters," a high management source complained to me, "were the publishers' biggest tactical blunder. That list is based on seniority. We let go of a lot of good, aggressive young people and we kept a lot of tired, old deadwood. Murphy could have come out in front of the Guild with that list and told the members he wrote it himself. But now that the publisher has mailed out the letters, Murphy is forced to attack it. I don't know what we'll have to do now to placate him."

Only Murphy and a small knot of union chiefs know with any certainty if this is why we're striking. Certainly management, which in the news-

So the strike continues at this writing. Apparently from a zealous individual within management comes the scare story leaked to the *Wall Street Journal* about the *Herald Tribune* not returning to the newsstands and its Washington staff resigning en masse. And from the Guild comes a tedious, badly-written white paper with this

It's painful enough for a newsman to walk a picket line for reasons he doesn't understand. But it's just too great an insult to his professional pride when the union that supposedly represents him not only asks that he be fired but also prints turgid, dull, ungrammatical and *inaccurate* propaganda to back up this demand.



534 NATIONAL REVIEW

As Professor Seymour Martin Lipset recently remarked to your servant, the number of college and university students involved in political demonstrations is tiny, when compared with college enrollments; but if anyone were to interest even 5 per cent of the total campus population, passionately, in any particular cause, the effect could be tremendous, considering the gigantic scale of enrollments today, the potential energies of young people, and the ineluctable fact that most of them are bored with their regular studies nowadays (often with reason).

It does not follow, however, that students will embrace only radical causes. Opinion-surveys indicate that college undergraduates endorse a strong military policy in Southeast Asia even more heartily than does the American public generally. And one scarcely could ask students to be more anti-Communist than those of Indonesia.

Knowing the potential strength of student "activist" organizations, various radical cliques took prompt advantage of student eagerness for any cause, and of student boredom, to raise a rumpus through the "teach-ins" and yet more dramatic techniques of militant "pacifism." These groups have been lavishly, if mysteriously, financed: behold, for instance, their full-page advertisements in the *New York Times* and other papers and magazines, costing thousands of dollars for a single insertion.

Students, assistants, and professors who do *not* think that Vietcong terrorists are amiable reformers were not ready immediately to repel these academic boarders—even though the moderate and conservative folk on the campus actually are in a large majority. As F. J. C. Hearnshaw wrote once, "Ordinarily it is sufficient for the conservative to sit and think, or perhaps merely to sit." Those who know that politics is only one aspect of life usually are slow to embark upon a counter-assault. And nobody was thrusting thousands of dollars into their pockets.



Kirk

FROM THE ACADEMY



Students For Victory

During the past few months, nevertheless, undergraduates, graduate students, and college teachers who do *not* take the United States for a wicked imperialist power have been making themselves heard. One of the more interesting and vigorous groups of this character is known as VIVA—that is, Victory in Vietnam Association. It originated at the University of California—at Los Angeles, however, not at Berkeley. Its chief moving spirit has been Mr. William Longstreth, its national chairman; and its address is Box 596, UCLA, 308 Westwood Plaza, Los Angeles, California. Though VIVA has no money, and until recently had no offices or telephone, chapters have been formed on several other campuses. Democrats and Republicans are about equal in numbers among the membership. Most of the members, so far, have been graduate students in law, medicine, and engineering, and junior members of college faculties.

Last November, VIVA marched alongside the peaceniks at the Oakland naval terminal—but bearing signs that endorsed action against the Communists in Vietnam. The organization has held several "teach-outs," just when the students of the Left were holding their widely publicized teach-ins.

The most successful of these teach-outs occurred at the University of California at Los Angeles on March 25. It coincided with the UCLA Vietnam Day Committee's teach-in, a short distance away. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the radical teach-in attracted some 800 spectators, but the anti-radical demonstration drew some 3,000 people. The Vietnam Day Committee at UCLA had a budget of \$3,500; VIVA, penniless, depended on volunteer speakers.

Mr. Sam Yorty, mayor of Los Angeles, was the keynote speaker for VIVA. (It is worth noting that when the VIVA people asked Republican

headquarters in southern California for a speaker to participate, they were informed that the Republicans could furnish men prepared to talk about state and local issues, but had no one qualified to discuss international affairs.) Mayor Yorty spoke most forthrightly in favor of firm action in Southeast Asia.

Free Speech: For Whom?

Once the radicals became aware that the VIVA rally was succeeding, they dispatched a band of forty-odd hecklers to parade in front of the mayor and interrupt his address. But after a moment of surprise, the redoubtable Mr. Yorty, a seasoned campaigner, turned this persecution to his advantage. Some people estimate that the Mayor gained fifty thousand votes for his gubernatorial candidacy, from citizens watching the VIVA fracas over television; Mr. Yorty gave the peaceniks much more than they bargained for. One feature of the Mayor's continuing campaign for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination is his repeated reference to the contest at UCLA that day. "Some students there speak of free speech, but they denied it to me," he declares.

Unlike their radical adversaries, the VIVA students and instructors confine their activities to the campus, almost always. There are no professional agitators among them. Their common principle is to support Americans fighting in Vietnam. They think of producing some film strips showing this struggle on the campus, but as yet they have no financial angels. They have declined the support of southern California's radical right zealots, and their constitution specifies that their officers and directors may not be active in any other anti-Communist group.

All they have, in fine, is common sense and courage. But that's something.

» BOOKS · ARTS · MANNERS «

A Decade's Harvest

M. STANTON EVANS

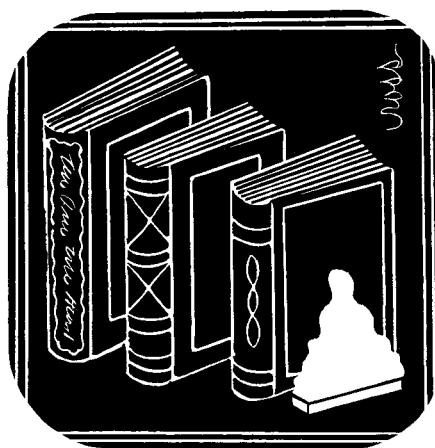
Although Professor Jeffrey Hart's new book on conservatism is manifestly a document of importance, your reviewer approached it with some uneasiness. *The American Dissent* is based on extensive quotations from and analysis of articles which appeared in *NATIONAL REVIEW* in the decade 1955-65, and despite the pleasure of association with this journal as constant reader and occasional contributor, I found something appalling about the idea of wading through a *Schimpflexikon* of quotations from this magazine or any other. There is nothing easier to assemble if one is willing to let his scissors and paste-pot do the work; but there is nothing harder to do if one wants to write something original, and important.

These fears were unworthy. Professor Hart and his task are well met, as those who scanned over the excerpts from his book in the 10th anniversary issue of *NR* last fall may already have divined. Hart has indeed made extensive use of material appearing in *NR*, or otherwise fashioned by its contributors, with scrupulous attention to context and nuance. But he has also brought to the book a discerning and comprehensive sympathy for the various aspects of modern conservatism, which makes the work distinctively his own. Employing the major voices of the conservative movement and letting them express their chief concerns and differing emphases, he has nevertheless stamped the work with the character of his own thought. And since that thought is wide-ranging and alive to what is central and enduring, the book is a complete success.

One obvious reason for this happy outcome is the fact that Hart had something valuable to work with.

The American Dissent, by Jeffrey Hart. Doubleday, \$4.95

Most journalism passes from thought with the occasion which evokes it; but the best journalism will now and again produce things which can be read with improvement months and years after publication. By reason of its consistent search for principle and



order beneath the flow of events, *NATIONAL REVIEW* has turned out a remarkable quantity of this second sort of writing. Analyses of modern moral disintegration, of the confusions which subtend the Liberal faith, of the great seminal questions of liberty and authority and the interactions between them—these are timeless and will be as relevant in 1990 as they are today.

Equally durable when measured on the normal time-scale of topical discussion are *NR*'s ruminations on the larger political issues: Communism, the Cold War, the Western Alliance, the United Nations, the expansion of the domestic state, the deterioration of our institutions. If we turn back to characteristic Liberal utterance on such matters in 1955 or 1958 or 1960, we sense the material before us is dated. It is all couched in the fad words and theories of the hour—"de-Stalinization," "agrarian reform," "missile gap," "growth rate"—out of touch with current reality and, one trusts, embarrassing to its users. *NATIONAL REVIEW* has been notably free

of such cant. Because its speculations have been keyed to dominant tendencies of the time rather than occasional diversions, it is possible to read what James Burnham or William Buckley or Frank Meyer said about United States foreign policy eight or ten years ago and find the comment not only timely but coruscatingly urgent.

A second reason for the book's success is Professor Hart's own instinct for what is relevant. He drives to the heart of each issue, selects the pieces most apposite to his theme, and adds his own special twist of insight. The book strikes off great chords of thought in almost every field of modern controversy, and then proceeds without ado to the next phase of discussion. The effect is an unlikely combination of vigor and profundity. When one reflects that in ten years' time *NATIONAL REVIEW* published more than 500 issues (*Magazine* and *Bulletin* combined), each containing up to ten or a dozen pieces touching on all these things, Professor Hart's powers of compression and integration in achieving this result become readily apparent.

THE BOOK is divided into five principal sections: a discussion of the rise of modern conservative thought played off against the pretensions and inadequacies of contemporary Liberalism (Chapters I and II); the conservative response to the thorny domestic issue of "civil rights" as a study in social values, constitutional punctilio, and intellectual rigor (Chapter III); the conservative view of Communist revolutionary aspirations and the proper imperatives of American foreign policy (Chapter IV); conservatism and American education (Chapter V); and differing philosophical emphases within the conservative camp (Chapter VI). Each of these chapters is instructive; but especially interesting because it concerns an area where new ground is being broken is Chapter VI, "The Varieties of Conservative Thought."

In this essay, Hart examines different strands of conservatism from "libertarian" to "authoritarian" and explores the possibility of consensus.

Among the authors examined at length are Russell Kirk, Frank Meyer, Willmoore Kendall, Brent Bozell, Wilhelm Röpke, and Frederick Wilhelmsen. The principal question engaged is whether the demands of a traditionalist Natural Law conservatism can be harmonized with the libertarian energies of a free economic and political order. While Hart's chapter sketches in the major points at issue rather than attempting to settle them (they may never be settled to anyone's satisfaction), it is an admirable digest of a complex subject and a fitting answer in its wealth of original thought to Liberal

aspersions on conservative anti-intellectualism.

It is also a first-rate addition, in its quest for the homologous as well as the antagonistic elements in modern-day conservatism, to the dialogue it examines. Hart notes that practical agreement on many issues of the day and improved communication among conservatives, with subsequent adjustment of differing views (he mentions Kirk and Meyer in particular), have moved conservatives several paces closer to interior agreement. *The American Dissent* is a further contribution to that process of reconciliation.

He had endless troubles with ladies throughout his life. When the Prince Consort decided to throw down the gauntlet, he came near to total disgrace. The Prince accused him of assaulting one of the Queen's Ladies in Windsor Castle, but could not prove his point. Even in his eightieth year Pam was threatened, while still Premier, by a blackmailing husband for heavy damages. The opposition Conservative whips believed: "We've got him"; but Disraeli wisely reminded them that if he were accused at his age of such a charge he would sweep the country at the elections. Britons were Britons then.

While he was in office he never failed to make history. He stood up in all his merry wickedness to the Palace dominated by the virtuous Prince Consort till Queen Victoria had to accept him as inevitable. Behind the scenes, to take a long view, Bismarck was waiting for two Englishmen to die, Palmerston and Clarendon. While those two lived, there could have been no Franco-Prussian War. Clarendon and Palmerston made the British Foreign Office and left it at its greatest. It has steadily declined since.

EUROPE SUSPECTED Pam, realizing he always played a lone hand. He was with difficulty prevented from receiving Kossuth, the Hungarian champion, at his country house, Broadlands. Queen and Cabinet, however furious, knew that the country was with him. They only dared sack him when he accepted Louis Napoleon's *coup*, and that was a far-sighted stroke, perhaps farther-sighted than he dreamed himself. Pam had decided that France should cease to be England's hereditary enemy. If England needed an enemy, she should have Russia (who still is). He took up Napoleon III in time to effect the first Anglo-French alliance and to fight the Czar. His policy was to keep the Ottoman Empire dominant in the East and Constantinople Turkish, a policy which would have saved England the disaster of trying to force the Dardanelles in the First World War.

Pam achieved what English cricketers call a long innings in office. No Premier stayed longer than he and Gladstone and Churchill. In a sense he beat them all, for he suc-

Long Shots and the Long Run

SIR SHANE LESLIE

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO a British Premier died in office, unretired and unretiring, with his fame long gathered as a Foreign Secretary when the principals on the world board were Czar Nicholas I, Louis Napoleon, and Victoria's Prince Consort. Nicholas, Lord Palmerston wore to death by the Crimean War; Napoleon's illegal *coup d'état* he recognized with sheer bounce. No doubt he was right, but Victoria sacked him at the time, although he returned as the fittest Minister to finish the ghastly Crimean War. Statesmen spoke of his impudence, his amazing luck, his undeviating popularity with the English. The people compared him to Foreign Ministers like Talleyrand and Metternich, and always wildly in his favor. Was it possibly because he was the more fighting man and more truthful statesman? They adored him because he never cared what he said.

There were few minor or resurgent countries which did not receive his

Palmerston: The Most English Minister, by Donald Southgate. St. Martin's, \$15.00

ministerial attention: Greece, Italy, Poland. He lived and almost reigned in a Europe of one-man influences. The dictatorships of Russia, Austria or Prussia were his targets, while he championed any small country which looked towards adopting the British

Constitution. In his view there was none other. At the Foreign Office he played the part of a wise Flavian emperor, calling on the British Empire to support him in his immense and most famous speech, "*Civis Romanus Sum*." And the country always rallied to him.

Pam is difficult to place. He had once lived like a Regency dandy, even like a rake. His sporting and amorous side amused the delighted populace. Mr. Southgate accepts his happy and eventual marriage with Emily Lamb, sister of Lord Melbourne (Victoria's first Premier), though *their* son was born while she was the wife of Lord Cowper. Divorce would have wrecked his career, so he patiently awaited the death of Lord Cowper, whose wife with his own son he then transplanted to his famous house in Piccadilly. Hence the scene which I heard my grandmother describe, when an uninstructed French ambassador openly congratulated Palmerston on his likeness to his stepson, bowing low with the words—"On voit bien qu'il ressemble à son père!" Whether Emily dropped a curtsy on this occasion, it was accepted by a delighted but discreet audience. Mr. Southgate's hints add to the romance of the book; for instance: Lord Melbourne had "not without misgivings sanctioned the reappointment as Secretary for the Foreign Office of his friend, *his sister's more than friend*." This was in 1834.

cessfully determined to die in office. He had learnt how to wait for the decease of others, and Gladstone had to wait for him. We are told that, without the aid of television, Pam imposed his "image" on the English people. The great masters of caricature had already made the Victorians immensely familiar to the people. He lived long enough to be photographed in the sixties like a sulky old lion borrowed from Trafalgar Square. The pencil of Tenniel, the showman of *Punch*, made him as popular as a prizefighter, like John Bull in person fighting in the foreign ring. He may not have been either good or great but he was what the public appreciated more than either. He was as good a fighter at home as abroad.

IT MAY SEEM a puzzle to Americans why Lord Palmerston should always have been in the Commons. He had the advantage of an Irish peerage which excluded him from the House of Lords. In the Commons he stayed, and ended as Prime Minister from

1855 to 1865 with one year's interval. He was strong enough to conciliate rather than crush political enemies. Luck or patience enabled him to wait his hour. His policies have been forgotten but have rolled back into orbit. Typically, he had opposed the Suez Canal as introducing French power in Egypt. Eastern commerce, he foresaw, would make it necessary for England to acquire the Canal, and now that it has fallen to Egypt, at present elections the cry of "Suez" still hangs round the Conservative neck.

He hoped to keep France out of the Nile and Russia from the Bosphorus. Neither are there at present. He foresaw Russia's approach by way of Afghanistan before there was an Indian Empire. His contact with China enabled him to take over Hong Kong. Truly his works, or at least his long shots, appear to follow him.

As for the United States, he represented the *Trent* affair fiercely and the arrest of Southern envoys under the English flag, but he avoided Glad-

stone's mistake of hailing a new nation under Jefferson Davis. He was fortunate to die before the conclusion of the *Alabama* affair made England heavily pay up to the winner.

MR. SOUTHGATE'S book is as well-packed as possible. As historical style it is equally remote from Macaulay or Lytton Strachey. The introduction gives what is necessary as biography (the author explicitly disclaims the book as biography and subtitles it "The Policies and Politics of Palmerston"), but the last word is far from being written. Pam will continue as long as English history needs writing. Perhaps he will be left as the only possible Englishman to compare with Churchill. It is interesting that like Churchill he was twice turned down by his own people, but when real trouble arose each was found fittest and strongest to take the lead. Each was hailed as a "Triton among the minnows." In England today, as after Palmerston's death, the minnows have poured into the shallows.

RANDOM NOTES

● **BOOKS AHEAD:** Fans will welcome Carlos Clarens' *An Illustrated History of Horror Films*, due from Putnam in the fall. . . . For those who prefer horror books, Macmillan has *Tarantula*, by Bob Dylan, the scruffy pride of Hibbing, Minn., who makes millions writing (and croaking) fakefolk songs about how awful the rest of us are. Publishers bill his book, needless to say, as "a fresh and individual statement about America today" (August, \$3.95). . . . Our favorite Mau-Mau's boy, Soapy Williams, graces the Dial Press fall list with his *African Memoir*. . . . On the brighter side, Alexander Calder's autobiography-memoirs are due from Pantheon this autumn. They're based on recorded conversations with his son-in-law, John Davidson. . . . Catherine Drinker Bowen tells all about our Constitution in *Miracle at Philadelphia* (Atlantic-Little, Brown, July). . . . Two of Carl Carmer's books on New York State History and folklore were

reissued by David McKay in April: *Listen for a Lonesome Drum* and *Dark Trees to the Wind*, both at \$4.95. *My Kind of Country*, a collection of Carmer's shorter writings, will be published by McKay in August.

● **EH?** Our vote for neatest trick of the century goes to S. Kierkegaard, Dane, who, if a recent news release from a publisher is to be believed, "died in 1855 after becoming a major influence on 20th century existentialism."

● **ON THE TUBE:** Pam Austin, the outdoorsy blonde who urges us to "join the Dodge rebellion," starred in the pilot for a projected CBS *Perils of Pauline* series. . . . Offers to appear as "special guest villain" on *Batman* shows next year have come from Maurice Evans, Liberace, Art Carney, Mickey Rooney, Robert Morley, Agnes Moorehead, Cyril Ritchard, James Mason and Raymond Massey. Stay Tuned. . . .

Screen Gems advertises, for TV release, over 600 episodes of 51 vintage Saturday matinee serials, among them *Red Ryder*, *Tailspin Tommy*, *Gangbusters* and *Frank Merriwell*. Would that the trend would spread to radio, and let us re-enjoy *The FBI in Peace and War*, *The Green Hornet*, *Suspense* and all those.

● **ON THE SCREEN:** 20th Century-Fox hopes for another *Sound of Music* in *Star*, the Gertrude Lawrence biography to shoot this fall with Saul Chaplin producing, Robert Wise directing and Julie Andrews starring. . . . More musicals: one based on *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*, from MGM, to star Richard Burton and Audrey Hepburn; another based on, yes, *Rebel Without a Cause*. . . . Glenn Ford is sought to star in Universal's film biography of painter Charles Russell. . . . A new image for Doris Day: she stars in *Caprice*, flick about an industrial spy, now shooting.

What the Framers Believed

JARED LOBDELL

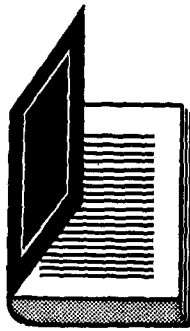
IT IS IMPORTANT to recognize at the outset what this book is not. It is not an original contribution to the literature of the Convention, like Beard's *Economic Interpretation* or Forrest McDonald's *We the People*, nor is it an original contribution to the literature on the political conditions of local America, like Robert and Katherine Brown's *Virginia 1705-1786*. It is not, for the most part, a history of the ratification process, though that is touched on. It is not a history of the individual Framers, seeking to discover what they were like and why they were like that—though it does, to be sure, present capsule biographies of most of them. All of these would be good subjects for a book, but none of them is the subject of this book, nor does it make any claim to have them as its subject.

What it is, is something both less valuable than these in the long run, and much more useful in the short. It is, to start with, the sort of history which may be justly described as a retelling—a straightforward political narrative, arranged chronologically, having behind it the idea that men make history, and therefore having as its principal secondary purpose (after the re-telling) the re-evaluation of the work done by each of the Framers.

Perhaps re-evaluation is misleading. There is almost no trace of historical revisionism in Professor Rossiter's judgments. Once again, Washington, Franklin, and Madison are the heroes, and there are no villains. Gouverneur Morris may be given a higher place than he is normally accorded in the pantheon, and the same may be true of Nathaniel Gorham, David Brearly, and the three Connecticut delegates. But there are no surprises, and few places where the book diverges from what would have been written ninety years ago, or more.

This, in itself, is no bad thing. The

1787: *The Grand Convention*, by Clinton Rossiter. Macmillan, \$7.95



school-teacher in me sees this as a useful textbook, suitable for discussing admiringly but unemotionally what happened in Philadelphia that summer of 1787. For that purpose, the lack of controversial material is an advantage. And indeed, in another sense this is an admirable textbook: it contains the full texts of the Articles of Confederation, the Virginia Plan, the Report of the Committee of the Whole of 13 June 1787, the New Jersey Plan, the Resolutions referred to the Committee of Detail of 26 July 1787, the Constitution as reported by the Committee of Detail, and the Constitution as adopted, with amendments adopted subsequently. But these riches, it must be confessed, are not matched by the richness of Professor Rossiter's interpretation.

Once again, in a textbook this lack of interpretation may itself be a virtue: I think it is. And if Professor Rossiter's intention was to lead off the new American History Series in this fashion, no quarrel can be made with the intention, or with the achievement. Then why do I have reservations about both? Is there something amiss here that I can put my finger on?

In fact, there are two areas where something seems to be amiss. In the first place, this book ought to be a work of *haute vulgarisation*, undertaken by a scholar who has spent his lifetime with the relevant MSS, has published the most relevant of them, and has finally turned to the problem of distilling what he knows, not indeed for the casual reader, but for the casual historian. But it seems neither *haute* nor *vulgarisation*, neither written by the lifetime scholar of its subject nor written for popular consumption. It is, in the usual school-boy sense of the word, a history book. And that is all it is. Secondly—and to my way of thinking an even more damaging flaw—it is a study in political science, or political history if you prefer, that begs the question of what constitutes political success.

The question is begged in rather an odd way. Professor Rossiter's



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single greatest contribution in this book is his clear summary of the beliefs held by the vast majority of thinking political men in 1787, and the process of the grand convention is recounted in a way that accepts implicitly that set of beliefs. This is doubtless good, and good especially in what will—and should—serve as a schoolbook. But in his introduction on why 1787 was the single most important year in American history, and in his chapter on the finished work, he seems to be judging the Constitution, and therefore the convention, on the grounds that the present-day “march of democracy” in this “era of nation-building” has not only not been hindered by it, but has some-

how used it (or could use it) as an example.

SURELY THIS IS TENDENTIOUS. If our conservative Constitution (the adjective is Professor Rossiter's) is as good as he makes it out to be, and if the political beliefs held in general by the Framers were as valid as he assumes them to have been, it is at least arguable that in a march of democracy in an era of nation-building, wherein there is little that is either conservative or constitutional, and where (to take just one example) belief in property rights is at best dubious, something has gone rather wrong. To praise a Constitution writ-

ten by men who feared democracy on the grounds that the Constitution made democracy possible seems a trifle odd.

But this is not to say Professor Rossiter is not right in giving praise, only that I should like to see the question answered rather than begged. And certainly I, who have a weakness for straightforward political narrative, am in no position to quarrel with Professor Rossiter for providing me with the extremely pleasant time I spent in reading his book. I recommend it to all teachers of American history in the schools, and to any armchair historians who want to catch up on the heroes of 1787.

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Helping Them Bury Us

EDWIN McDOWELL

IN THE extraordinarily short period since World War I, dictatorship has reversed the trend to democracy which had been gathering momentum for more than two centuries. Why? What is there in democratic theory that puts democratic government at

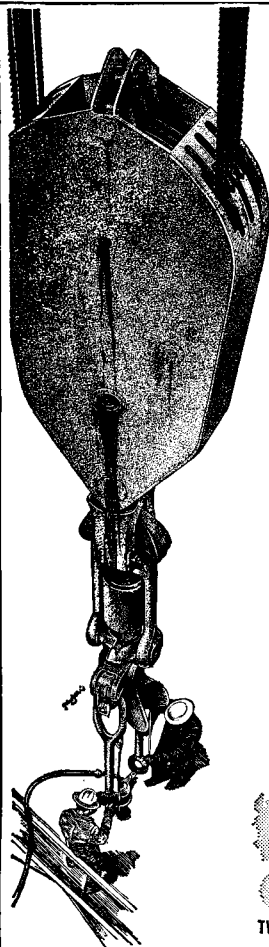
a disadvantage in dealing with the totalitarian party? In an effort to find the answer to that question, Benjamin Lippincott, a professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, and a former teacher and longtime friend of Hubert Humphrey, examined more than 6,000 books and articles by American and English intellectuals and political leaders covering the 35-year period, 1917-1952.

The democratic dilemma, simply stated, is what to do about the totalitarian party (in the postwar period, the Communist Party) in our society. Some Liberals (throughout Professor

Democracy's Dilemma: The Totalitarian Party in a Free Society, by Benjamin E. Lippincott. Ronald Press, \$6.50

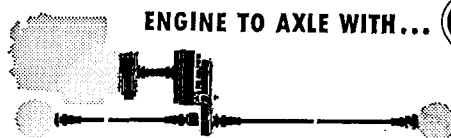
Lippincott names names and cites lengthy passages) argue that nothing should be done unless the totalitarians act against society. Others claim that a free society must tolerate disloyalty. Still others insist that the threat to free inquiry is considerably more serious than the threat of Communism.

While praising these various spokesmen for reminding us of the value of freedom of speech and for their insistence on maximum public discussion, Professor Lippincott scores those orthodox Liberals who for three decades assigned little or no weight to evidence of the character of the Communist parties. While they eager-



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ly played up the few concessions made to democracy by Marxism-Leninism, they ignored the testimony of defectors from Communism and dismissed the findings of the Canadian Royal Commission which investigated the espionage network disclosed by Igor Gouzenko. They failed to credit hearings of the congressional committees investigating Communism, whose reports contained valuable data for anyone who would understand the totalitarian threat. Indeed, numerous committee publications sent to the libraries of Harvard and the University of Minnesota had never even been opened.

He criticizes Liberals unwilling to believe that the totalitarian party is basically a conspiratorial organization for seizing power and establishing dictatorship. Not every Communist is necessarily a conscious conspirator, he says, but the Party leadership is engaged in conspiracy, and the "mere" party member, the dupe, is largely a construct of Liberal innocence. No one innocently just joins the Communist Party; he is usually chosen only after passing a number of rigorous tests, wherein his credentials are considered, investigated, and judged.

BECAUSE THEY MINIMIZED or ignored these facts, many Liberals willingly acted in concert with Communists (as indeed the New Left does today). The result was, the author tells us, that the Communists escaped criticism from a leading group of the nation's intellectuals—making it easier for them to recruit and infiltrate our public and private institutions.

How was it possible for the Communists in the U.S., who probably never numbered more than 100,000 to control the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, to defeat Bob La Follette (ironically, by supporting Joe McCarthy in the 1946 Wisconsin senatorial race), and to penetrate the Democratic Parties of Washington and California, the Democratic Farmer Labor Party of Minnesota, and the American Labor Party of New York? How were they able to infiltrate important governmental agencies, defense plants, unions?

Partly, the author explains, because the Communists' proclaimed ultimate goals of freedom, equality, and plenty, are—unlike fascist goals—in the democratic tradition. But equally important is the fact that Communist parties of the West have operated

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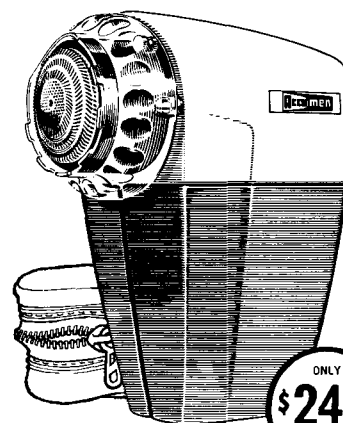
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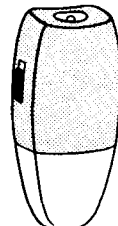
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"In all of these essays, Richard Weaver, the whole man, stands out, with his many strengths (in the ordinary and Renaissance sense), with the pungency and concentration of his personality, with the qualities, in short, that made him the outstanding writer, teacher and influential conservative that he was."

—from the Introduction
by Eliseo Vivas

LIFE WITHOUT PREJUDICE

Richard M. Weaver

\$4.50



Regnery

with little interference from the governments they hope to subvert.

Lippincott agrees with Walter Lippmann's analysis in 1935, when fascism was the dominant threat: to suggest that men must acquiesce in the overthrow of democracy by a dictator is to reduce democracy to an absurdity. It would mean that a dictator may use free institutions to destroy free institutions, that a temporary majority may impose its transient will on all future majorities, and that today's majority has the right to deprive tomorrow's minority of its rights. Lippmann cogently argues that free institutions are not the property of any majority, that men may not use the facilities of liberty to impair them. A man is not morally entitled to claim a right for the purpose of destroying it, for a right possesses what may be called a permanent character and extends into the future.

If the CPUSA was too weak to inflict serious harm on the nation in the 1920s, Professor Lippincott holds that by the late 1940s and 1950s this was no longer true. The threat it posed at mid-century was clearly not a revolutionary one, but that of a fifth column in case of war with the Communist bloc. In such a situation, he contends, a fifth column of even a few thousand members would—because modern science and technology have made it possible for a small number of men to wield extraordinary power—constitute a danger that could not be tolerated. Today, he says, the Soviets are stronger than any totalitarian power in history. And, despite the Cold War thaw, their goal of world domination remains unchanged.

Clearly, therefore, in Lippincott's view, wisdom favors outlawing the Communist Party.

Movies

'Zhivago' Reduced to an Epic

FRANCIS RUSSELL

THE LIGHTS DIMMED, the hidden amplifiers blared out the national anthem of Czarist Russia, and the man behind me even stopped chewing popcorn to whistle the tune. I must say I was prepared for the worst. One more epic to cross! Yet for once I was happily surprised. *Dr. Zhivago* is not only not a bad picture, as epics go it is quite a good one. Parts of it were shot in Finland near the Arctic Circle, parts in the mountains of Spain north of Madrid. In both cases the sweep and stretch of landscape are magnificent, the battle action far more convincing than in most three-hour epics. Such scenes as the opening one where the child Yuri Zhivago walks slowly in his mother's funeral procession across the almost boundless autumn steppe I found restrained and extremely moving. And for once the child actors throughout the film behave like credible children and not like the nasal, precocious scene-mugging graduates of some Hollywood charm school. American children may or may not be the world's most offensive, but American screen children certainly are. Less convincing are the Moscow street sets constructed near the Madrid airport.

In spite of the Kremlin background and the grind of the antique streetcars, I sensed a cousinship with those Western sets I used to see in the old silent days at Anderson's Mattapan Theater; and when the Cossacks appeared I was half waiting for William S. Hart to come gal-



loping round the corner, pistols blazing, to disperse them.

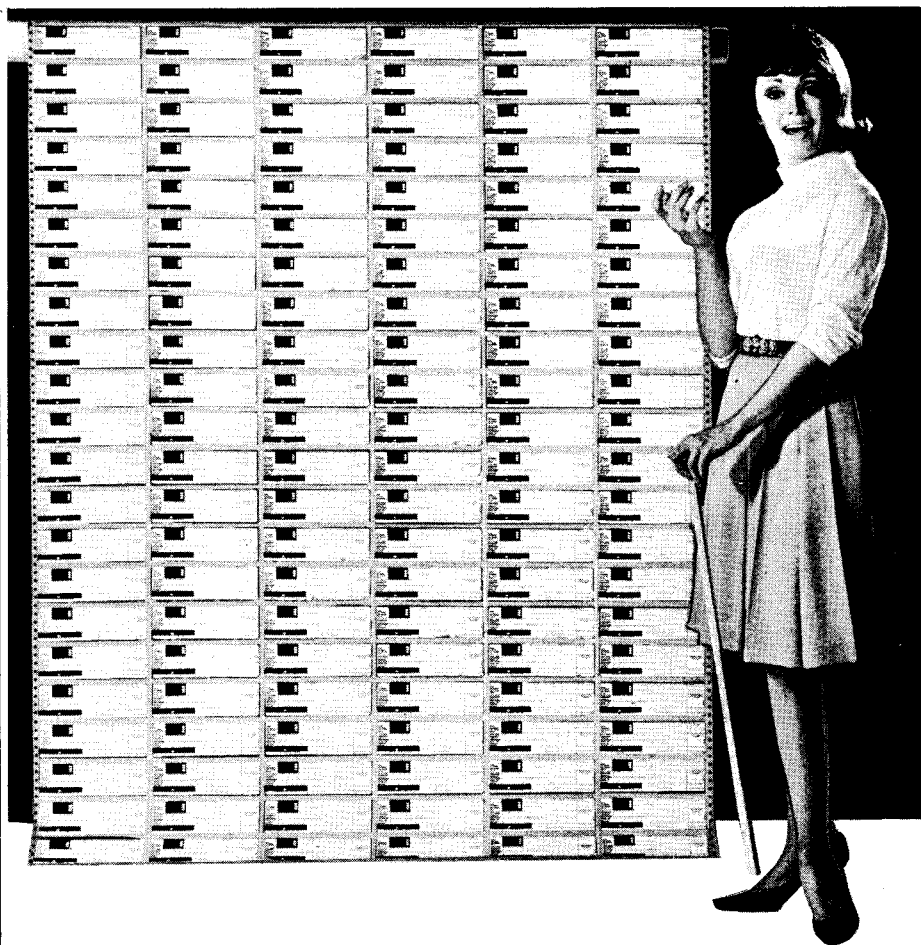
Not very inventively the film opens with Zhivago's half-brother Yevgraf, a Red Army general—played by Alec Guinness—questioning a young girl construction worker (Rita Tushingham) who he thinks may be the dead Zhivago's missing daughter. It is pleasant to see the ugly charm of Rita Tushingham's expressive face even if merely sandwiched in as a redundant prelude and postlude to the picture. With the general's questioning comes the inevitable flashback to what should have been the opening scene—the mother's funeral. From then on the life history of the

student-poet, poet-doctor continues, the humane but apolitical man fumbling his way through the war, the October Revolution, marriage, a mistress, rural escape, and finally death.

Of course the film over-simplifies the Revolution, and plays down what was implicit in Pasternak's autobiographical book—a basic repudiation of the Ten Days That Shook the World, as a Moscow literary editor remarked on reading the manuscript. "The Revolution simply provides the canvas," the director, David Lean, has pronounced, "against which is told a moving and highly personal love story." Well, that's one way out. I have the feeling that Lean nurses the secret hope that his film might be some day allowed in Russia, and has cut at least some of his cloth accordingly.

IN SPITE OF his own redundancy the protean Alec Guinness is a most convincing Red Army commander. Equally convincing and fitted to their roles are—with one exception—the other members of the cast: Omar Sharif as Zhivago (his small son plays the boy Yuri as well as his father does the man); Siobhan McKenna and Ralph Richardson as Zhivago's parents-in-law; Julie Christie as Lana, his later mistress; Rod Steiger as the sensual opportunist Komarovsky, for which I here forgive him his Joyboy gaffe in *The Loved One*; Tom Courtenay as the awkward student and later partisan leader Strelnikov. Among such old pros the face of Geraldine Chaplin as Tonya, Zhivago's wife, is wistfully inadequate. She looks surprisingly like her father, the same nose, the same smile. Paste a little black moustache on her upper lip, strap roller skates on her feet, provide a custard pie in the sky, and one could almost be back in the Charlie-Mabel Normand two-reeler days. But as an actress—no.

Though *Dr. Zhivago* drags a little, it is nevertheless a mature spectacle that manages to create a sense of history and at the same time develop the feeling that people are more important than dogmas. Unfortunately the ending is ruinous. Zhivago is buried, and the flash-back ends. The general finally convinces his niece that she is just that, to no reason apparently, for she strolls away with the young construction worker at the great hydro-electric dam where they



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both work. The uncle stands waving a Red goodbye while the couple walk along the ramp together, into the future no doubt. The bad old days are over, from the Revolution to Uncle Joe! Nothing more in the world but the boy, the girl, the dam. All that I felt was lacking was a rainbow.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE LONGEST AUTO RACE, by George Schuster with Tom Mahoney (John Day, \$5.95). For the antique car fancier, this book provides a wealth of detail about the people and cars involved in a race from Times Square to Paris, via San Francisco and Vladivostok. For others, it offers a vivid description of the hazards facing drivers in 1908. Amid the ghosts of seldom-remembered automobile manufacturers walk men of derring-do whose exploits at least rival those of today's astronauts—indeed, their greater proximity to the forces of nature forced them into a closer, more elemental form of combat. Driving across this country today fails to conjure up the horror of riding on the old, thin tires across open fields, down muddy wagon ruts, bumping over miles of railroad ties, and getting pulled across a river with a quicksand bottom by a team of horses. The authors fail to make the reader identify with the participants, and the detail can often seem superfluous to the non-car buff. But the simple, yet colorful, narrative and the numerous photographs add appeal for the younger reader, whose parents might do well to expose him to the pre-flight era of man's struggle with nature. D. B. DUVAL

THE BATTLE OF CAPORETTO, by Cyril Falls (Lippincott, \$4.50). Caporetto is one of the most fascinating battles of World War I. Italy waited a year before going to war against its old allies, then spent two years in bloody, futile attacks against a supposedly decrepit Austria. Suddenly the Austrians struck back (with German help), smashing the Italian army so completely that only Franco-British help prevented total disaster. Strange victory! Austria, that paradox of history, struggled through four years of

war, survived to see its enemies (Russia, Serbia, Roumania, and—almost—Italy too) defeated, and then collapsed. The precarious political order the Habsburgs maintained for so long in Central Europe was succeeded first by German and then Russian conquest; it is no wonder that many people along the Danube remain nostalgic about *Die Kaiserzeit*. Mr. Falls treats all these matters with fond attention. If the battle narrative is a little *too* detailed, tedium is broken by copious use of the young Erwin Rommel's account of his (junior officer's) part in the attack. Rommel—and Falls—write with gusto. This little book can provide a most enjoyable evening.

J. P. MCFADDEN

THE CHURCHILL YEARS, 1874-1965, by the editors of the Viking Press and *The Times* of London (Viking, \$16.50). For the Churchill enthusiasts among us, this is a magnificent presentation of the man in pictures and text. Straightforward and without sentimentality, it contrasts refreshingly with the concoctions that have glutted the market celebrating various deceased public figures. F. S. MEYER

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (MAY 17)

Frederick L. Allen

THE BIG CHANGE:

A graduate of an eastern . . . school for girls, returning as a teacher, remarked . . . to the school doctor on the dimensions of her young charges. . . . "They're so big!" . . . "Big?" said he. "That's the tomato-juice generation . . . Wait till you see the grapefruit-juice generation!"

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS

- A. Type of animal that will sometimes eat more than his opposite (2 wds.).
- B. State with four U. S. senators, one a new burgher.
- C. Gentleman-usher to the Queen, Henry VIII.
- D. Polish for footwear.
- E. A laborious contest (2 wds.).
- F. Cause of much summer profanity (2 wds.).
- G. Type of toad.
- H. What a modern phenomenon might be called (2 wds.).
- I. Summit of the house.
- J. Greatest amount (2 wds.).
- K. Town, Crawford County, Penna.
- L. Site of church founded by St. Patrick.

WORDS

18 149 109 1 54 161 165 127 61 73

59 139 122 188 157 110 2 172 201 150 10
34 154

70 74 116 51 62 145 95 35

94 182 27 3 55 184 169 15 11

99 82 196 180 151 158 44 14 117 128 194
111

168 63 143 171 45 16 134 155 104 86 160
185

42 173 146 183 105 64 198 192 37 67

36 68 21 118 181 147 85 38 166 26 107
177

46 167 187 4 119 199 83

52 22 197 65 5 17 89

80 75 47 19 148 152 28 69

91 132 98 120 20 112

DEFINITIONS

- M. To forget or bungle a line or passage.
- N. A big day in San Salvador (2 wds.).
- O. Town near Lake Geneva, Switzerland.
- P. Shines with an intense heat
- Q. Football term (2 wds.).
- R. When the morning hour usually ends in U. S. Senate (2 wds.).
- S. Type of roof covering.
- T. Sculpture by Louis Aime.
- U. Town at Southern end, Lake Windermere, Eng. (with Bridge).
- V. Pertaining to Mohammed's birthplace.
- W. To bring to a successful conclusion
- X. A simpleton.

WORDS

97 101 123 108 130

126 56 23 96 76 48 6 189 30 136 133
140 195 90

142 8 92 57 24

7 137 77 144 39

50 156 191 153 31 25 58 125 121 12 41
159 87 79

32 179 129 138 113 193 190 164 175

40 33 66 9 103 88

71 124 135 60 100 114

106 141 115 200 84

13 162 170 174 81 49

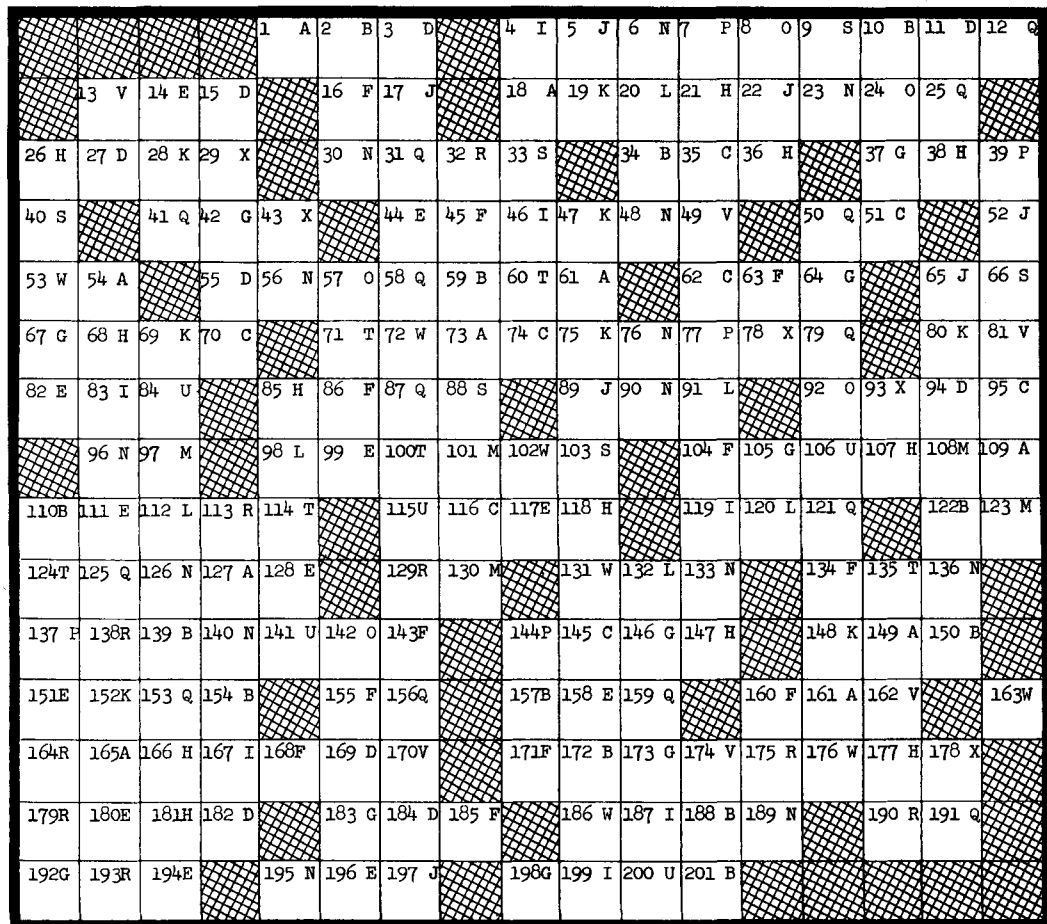
131 186 53 102 163 72 176

29 93 43 78 178

See page 544 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.



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PÂTÉS

(Continued from p. 529)

Pre-heat oven to 350°F (moderate). Melt butter in saucepan over medium heat. Stir in flour. Cook, stirring constantly, for about two minutes, or until mixture is smooth and just about to turn golden. Add hot milk. Lower heat. Cook, stirring constantly, until mixture is thickened and smooth. Stir in pâté. Remove from heat. Beat in egg yolks, one at a time. Cool mixture. Beat egg whites until very stiff. Fold gently into pâté mixture. Turn into a 3- to 4-cup baking dish. Bake for about 25 to 30 minutes or until soufflé has risen and looks set. For a firmer soufflé, bake about five minutes longer. Serve immediately with a salad of watercress dressed with a little olive oil and lemon juice.

Chicken Liver Pâté Maison

A finely textured and rich pâté. For an excellent party effect, it can be molded into the shape of a pineapple and covered with slices of pimento-stuffed olives, then topped with a fresh pineapple frond.

2 cups (1 lb.) butter, at room temperature

2 lbs. chicken livers, cut in pieces

2 medium onions, cut in eighths

1 teaspoon curry powder

1 teaspoon paprika

¼ teaspoon salt

¼ teaspoon pepper

3 to 4 tablespoons brandy

About 1¼ cup pimento-stuffed olives, sliced

Melt ½ cup of the butter in a saucepan. Add chicken livers, onions, curry powder, paprika and salt and pepper. Cover and cook over low heat about ten minutes. Stir frequently. Force mixture through a fine sieve or puree in blender. Stir in brandy and remaining butter. Blend until smooth. Chill until firm. Mold into pineapple shape and cover with olive slices. Top with pineapple frond. Or, more simply, put pâté into a tallish serving dish, omitting the olives and pineapple frond.

MENTAL HEALTH

(Continued from page 512)

of course, accept the testimony (opinions) of its own appointees. When given contradictory testimony the court is inclined to let the testimony of its own experts weigh more heavily in the scales of justice. To do otherwise would be to admit that the court had been at fault in hiring the wrong kind of experts.

POSTSCRIPT: Last week NATIONAL REVIEW received the following telegram—ROBERT HENRY SIMPSON declared mentally sound after 8-day trial.

THEODORE SCHULZ

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 496)

until proven guilty" is historically inaccurate. If he will read the closing portions of my article, he will see that I called for a rule of reason which will no more "do away with" the anti-incrimination clause than the rule of reason always applied to search and seizure cases has done away with the Fourth Amendment. Mr. Wilson does, however, hit the nail on the head when he says there should be "no hard and fast rules."

Mr. Gallagher's analysis is perspicacious indeed, and may be correct. In fact the purpose of the Founding Fathers in adopting this clause is unclear inasmuch as in their day, defendants in criminal cases were forbidden by law to testify under oath in their own defense.

Palo Alto, Calif. PARK CHAMBERLAIN

Keats and the Romantics

Dealing with a movement as complex as the Romantic, which Jeffrey Hart tries to do in his review of the new biography of Keats in your April 19 issue, is always difficult and many opinions about it are possible. It is most unfortunate that generalizations and stereotypes are usually more easily remembered than the subtleties of truth. In dismissing Shelley as "impossible," just what does Mr. Hart intend to do? A man who produced poetry of a lyrical and musical quality never equalled in literature just cannot, in spite of all his peculiarities, be so dismissed. The similar contemptuous disregard for Byron, Wordsworth and Coleridge only underlines the fatuity of the statement that Keats is "the only Romantic who will really do." In fact,

it is Lord Byron, rather than the introspective Keats, who is so much "the modern experiment." Keats himself said in a letter to his brother: "You speak of Lord Byron and me. There is this difference between us: he writes what he sees, I write what I imagine. . . ."

It is quite unnecessary to dismiss his great contemporaries in order to laud Keats, who was indeed cut off from his world to a much greater extent than the other Romantics. His experience was so intensely personal that it is ridiculous to call him the "natural man." If such appellations must, in the view of such critics, be fastened onto poets, Lord Byron should take the title. . . .

Evidently Hart misses the boat so completely that he feels it necessary to enhance Keats' stature by lauding his accomplishment at the expense of his contemporaries. No such defense is necessary for Keats. Like the other poets mentioned, his work stands, and will stand, upon its own great merit.

Indianapolis, Ind. MARGARET J. HOWELL

A Reply

Nothing in my review suggests that Wordsworth, Byron, and Coleridge did not write good poems, for indeed they did. All the good will in the world, however, cannot obscure the fact that Coleridge's achievement was fragmentary, and that he is most frequently discussed as a "case"; that Wordsworth's "visionary gleam" became all too intermittent; that Shelley's work is all but unique in its thinness; and that, except for *Don Juan*, Byron's poetry really belongs to the history of public relations. Despite the cultural predicament in which all these poets found themselves, Keats alone remains absolutely central.

Oxford, England

JEFFREY HART

NATIONAL REVIEW Magazine and Bulletin

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For The Record

Free Speech, Feelthy Speech backlash: Freshman applications at U. of Cal. (Berkeley) are down 21 per cent from a year ago. . . . Among the pacifists who signed Washington Post ad saying they will not pay income taxes while the Vietnam war is on, a couple of dozen turn out not to have made enough last year to be liable for any tax. . . . Stopped cold: in its tracks, by Wilbur Mills, the Administration's proposed bill to ease trade restrictions with Soviet Union, East European satellites. Mills, head of powerful House Ways and Means, says his Committee won't even hold hearings on the measure. . . . Suggestions that a \$100-a-head tax be imposed on U. S. tourists as way of discouraging foreign travel again heard in the capital, but sotto voce: it's regarded as political dynamite.

Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi—regarded as firebrand before Malawi's independence—emerging as one of more moderate African leaders. Banda opposes use of force against Rhodesia. "He who urges force," he says, "is no friend of Africa." Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia—regarded as a moderate before independence—now calling for bloody suppression of Rhodesian independence. "Blood has got to be spilled," he says. "It is the foundation of any freedom movement that is successful." . . . According to Al Ahram, the semi-official Egyptian paper, Egypt was on verge of invading Saudi Arabia last fall as only way of halting military supplies reaching royalists in Yemen. . . . After three years of independence 70 per cent of Algeria's able-bodied men are unemployed, and another 10 per cent, says Finance Minister Kaid Ahmed, work only 50 days a year.

Fact that Mrs. Lurleen Wallace received more than twice as many votes as her husband George did in 1962 Democratic primary causing Alabama Republicans to re-assess their strategy. Some pressure is being put on Rep. James Martin to drop out of gubernatorial race and contest senatorial seat of John Sparkman in November instead. . . . Senatorial

odds evened out a little in Michigan where Gov. Romney has appointed Rep. Robert Griffin (of Landrum-Griffin) to fill out term of the late Pat McNamara. Griffin—the unfavorite at this point—will run against Soapy Williams (probably) or Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh (possibly) for regular term. . . . Robert Taft Jr. finding himself in damned-if-you-do, damned-if-you-don't position. If he accepts support of Bircher William Flax (whom he defeated in primary) he



Tanner—Australian Bulletin

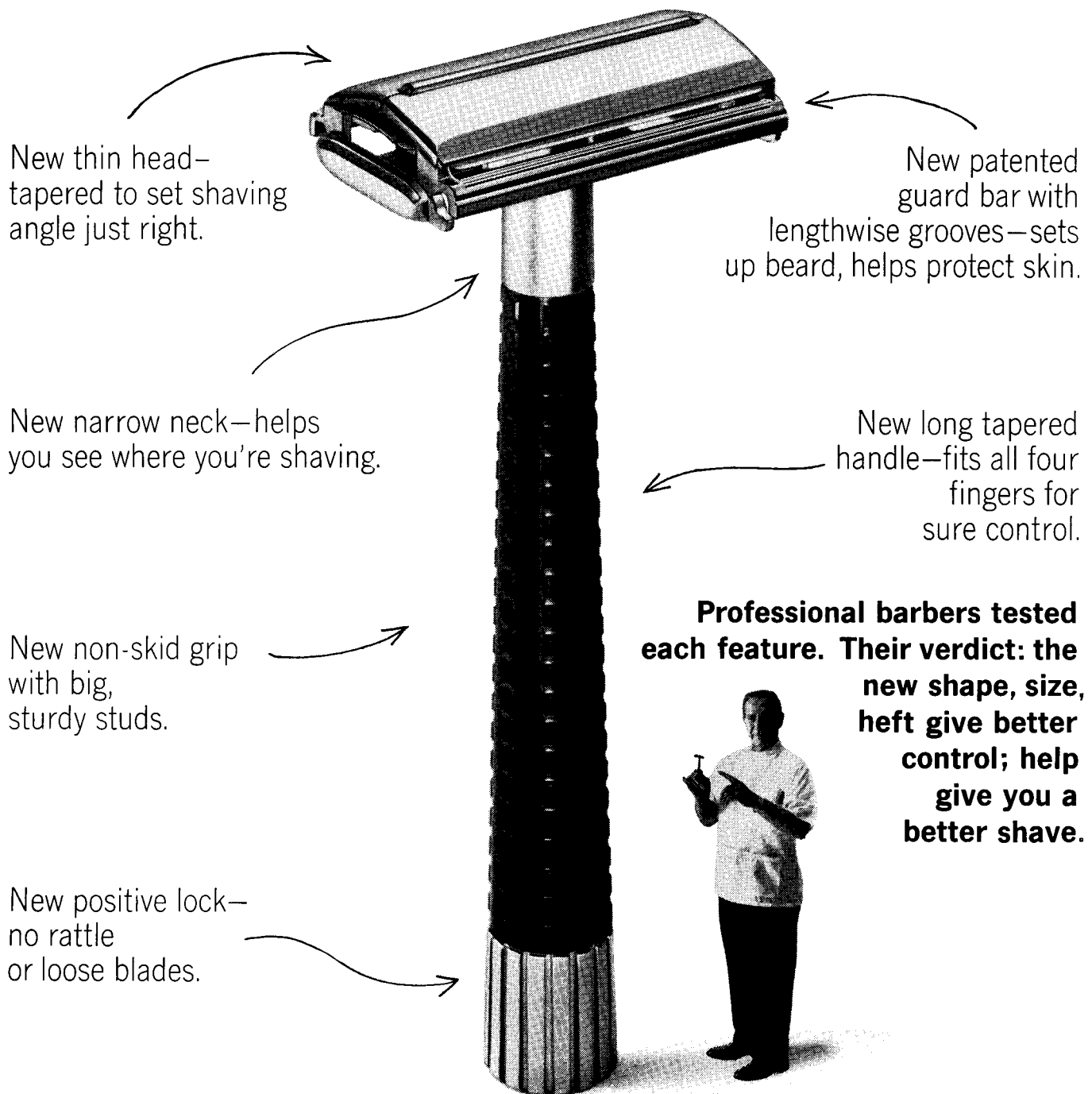
Ben Roth Agency

"I hear the Viet Cong are lousy lovers."

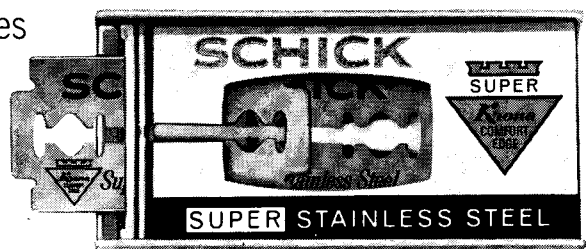
risks losing Liberal Republican votes; if he refuses it he could kiss his right wing goodbye.

Jolting blow: Leonard Kerpelman, Liberal and civil righter of impeccable credentials (he made the no-prayer argument before the Supreme Court), says he opposes any further extension of civil rights because of the Watts riots and the recent designation of Baltimore as this year's CORE target. "I would strongly hope that this sentiment comes as a shock to the Negro community and particularly to my Negro friends." . . . Democrats at recent (dry) \$100-a-plate dinner for Gov. Pat Brown found neatly typed card on their tables, placed there by political comedian Richard Tuck: "A meal without wine is like the State Senate without Tuck," it read, in French.

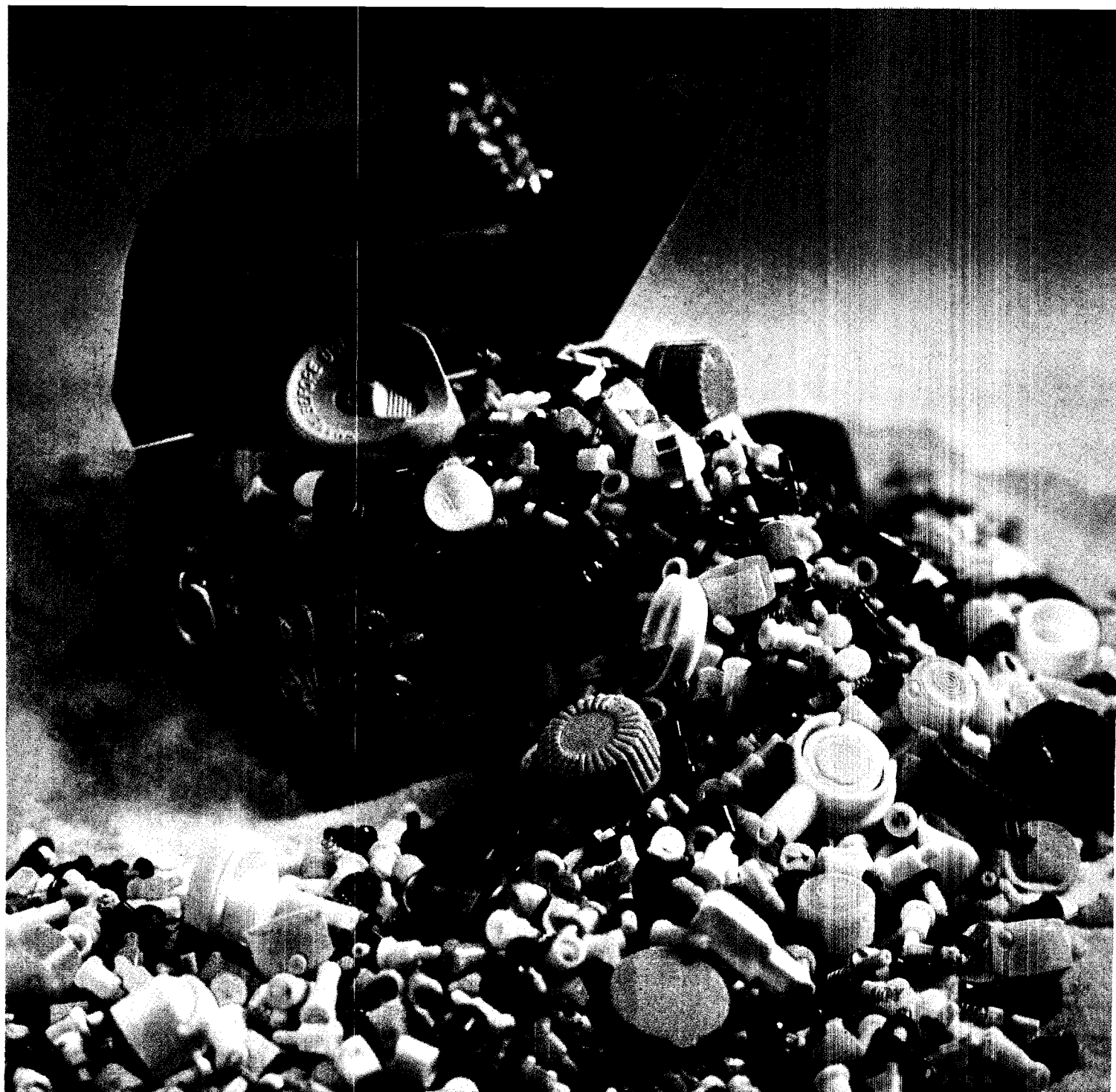
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